This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

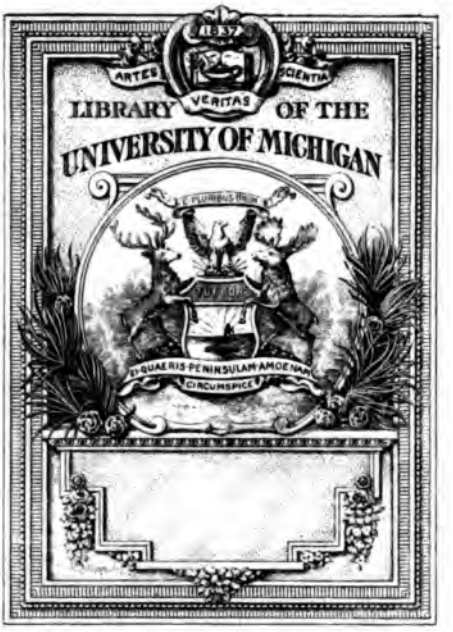
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,180,865


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

221 v-3

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Royal Society of Literature

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. VI.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LIX.

PRINTED BY
JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, LITTLE QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I.—Warkah: its Ruins and Remains. By WILLIAM KENNETT LOFTUS. (*With a Plan.*) 1

II.—Notice sur un Monument des Conquêtes de Ptolémée Évergète I. Par FRANCOIS LENORMANT. (*With a Plate.*) 65

III.—Sketches of Kertch, its larger Tumuli, and some other Remains. Drawn and described by ROBERT THOMPSON, Jun., and JOHN HOGG, Esqs. (*With Plates.*) 100

IV.—On the Collection of Antiquities bequeathed by the Hon. Sir William Temple to the British Museum. By EDMUND OLDFIELD, Esq., M.A. 130

V.—On the Alleged Connection between the Early History of Greece and Assyria. By the LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, PRESIDENT 170

VI.—Notice of the Annals of Granius Licinianus, as contained in a Palimpsestic Manuscript brought from Egypt. By JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., For. Sec. R.S.L., etc.. 216

VII.—Gustavus III. of Sweden. By Dr. ERNST HERMANN 223

VIII.—Additional Inscriptions from the Haurán and the Eastern Desert of Syria. Communicated by G. C. Graham, Esq., F.R.G.S., and edited, with a Preface and Notes, by JOHN HOGG, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Hon. For. Sec. R.S.L., etc. 270

IX.—On the History of Iceland, and the Icelandic Language and Literature. By JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., For. Sec. R.S.L. 324

X.—On some Traditions relating to the Submersion of Ancient Cities. By the LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, PRESIDENT 387

PAGE

XI.—The Relation of the Lombards to the Angles. By R. G. LATHAM, M.D., etc. 416

XII.—On Recent Researches by C. T. Newton, Esq., British Vice-Consul at Mytilene, at Budrum (the ancient Halicarnassus), Branchidæ, and Cnidus. By W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.S.L. 448

XIII.—A Sketch of the Life of Bürgermeister Wullenweber. By PATRICK M'CHOMBACH DE COLQUHOUN, LL.D. 503

XIV.—On the Origin of the Merino Breed of Sheep. By Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., V.P. 528

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—WARKAH: ITS RUINS AND REMAINS.

BY WILLIAM KENNETT LOFTUS.

(Read March 12th, 1856.)

It is now generally admitted that the southern part of Mesopotamia and the adjacent plains extending to the Persian Gulf comprehended the land of Shinar, in which "Nimrod, the mighty hunter," founded the primeval cities of "Babel and Erech, and Accad and Calneh" (Gen. x. 10).

Chaldæa was the appellation likewise given to a portion, if not to the whole, of the same region.

From similarity in name, antiquaries have been induced to fix on Warkah as the site of Erech. Mr. Fraser, at page 115 of his 'Mesopotamia and Assyria,' remarks that Warkah "may possibly represent the Orchoe of the Chaldeans; while, on the other hand, the term Orchoe may be nothing more than a mere modification of the ancient Erech, and Warkah a more modern pronunciation of both."[1]

[1] The modern name Warkah may be derived from the Arabic root عرق *'irk*, 'a vein.' The title عراق *'irāk*, 'country of arteries,' seems a natural appellation for a region intersected with canals. It must be allowed that the transition is not difficult from Erech and Ur to Orchoe and Warkah. Colonel Chesney, in his work on the

On the authority of the old Arab geographers and their traditions, Colonel Rawlinson was at one time of opinion[2] that Warkah represents "Ur of the Chaldees," the birthplace of Abraham. His recent discovery of the name "Húr" on the cylinders of Nabonidus[3] has however caused him to think differently, and to identify the ruins of Mugeyer with the Biblical Ur.

With due deference to such learned authority I am disposed to believe that Ur refers to a district rather than to a town of the Chaldees, and that both Mugeyer and Warkah were included, the latter retaining a trace of the original name.

Up to this time Warkah has afforded no records by which it can be identified, and therefore no definite conclusion can be arrived at for the present on the subject. Of all the ruins however which exist in the alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, Warkah can alone be compared with Babylon or Nineveh, either in the extent of ground it covers or in the information and relics it supplies. In one respect it is even more remarkable than those great cities; it is a vast cemetery, filled with the dead of many successive generations.

The ruins of Warkah are situated in lat. 31° 19′ north, and in long. 45° 40′ east, upon the eastern side of the Euphrates, about sixty miles south-east of Diwanieh, twenty miles east of Semava, and sixty miles north-west of Súk-es-Shiúkh, the residence of the

Euphrates Expedition, applies to Warkah the names Mújayah and El Asayíah, but the Arabs on the spot never call the ruins by these names.

[2] See 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xii. p. 481.

[3] See the 'Athenæum' of March 18, 1854.

Montefik Sheikh. Just above the junction of the Semava and Hillah branches of the river, Warkah is only four miles distant from the Euphrates; but, from March to November, it is impossible to gain access to it from this side, except by boat. In consequence of the rise of the Euphrates (owing to the melting of the snows in Armenia), a vast inundation occupies the intervening space, and extends without interruption towards the south-east, until it joins the still more extensive marshes of the Shat-el-Hie and the Shat-al-Kahr, which also renders approach impossible from the east. Towards the end of the year the water subsides, and the banks of the Euphrates are occupied by numerous small tribes of the Montefik Arabs, who follow the retiring waters and cultivate maize on the newly-formed deposit.

It is not at all a matter of surprise, when the nature of the surrounding country and the character of the tribes who occupy it are considered, that, until 1850, no modern traveller appears to have succeeded in reaching Warkah. The officers of the Euphrates Expedition made the attempt, but were prevented by the intervening marshes. Dr. Ross and Mr. Fraser saw the ruins at the distance of about four miles, but did not visit them.

In January of the year above mentioned, however, during a journey to meet the British Commission about to assemble at Mohammerah, I travelled from Baghdad, accompanied by Mr. H. A. Churchill, and, after many difficulties, arrived at Warkah. The extent of the ruins excited desire to explore them more thoroughly than a two days' visit would permit. We carried away a small collection of relics, a few sketches, and

a plan; these were subsequently exhibited to Colonel [now Sir W. Fenwick] Williams, K.C.B., the British Commissioner, who directed me to return and make excavations on a small scale. The result was the collection of antiquities deposited in the British Museum in the autumn of 1850.[4]

My third and last visit to Warkah was at the beginning of 1854, when I conducted researches there on behalf of the Assyrian Excavation Fund, during a period of three months.[5] I was accompanied by Mr. W. Boutcher, the artist of the Society, and Mr. T. Lynch, of Baghdad, who took advantage of this opportunity to visit the ruins.

It is proposed in this Memoir to give a detailed account of the ruins of Warkah, and of the discoveries there made during my three visits to that locality. The great difficulty which attended the excavations was the want of water near the ruins. During my second visit I encamped with the Toweybeh tribe of Arabs at the mouth of the Grayim and at Kalát Dúrájí, six and nine miles respectively distant on the banks of the Euphrates. On the last expedition I caused wells to be dug in the desert, midway between Warkah and the little Arab village of El Khuther, at the distance of four miles from the scene of my labours. The water however proved to be salt, and it was found necessary to convey fresh-water daily to the camp from the Euphrates on camels and mules. In the immediate vicinity of the ruins the slightest breath of wind

[4] A long Report accompanied this collection, as well as Mr. Churchill's beautiful drawings.

[5] In the Reports published by this Society, the most interesting and important results of the investigations were omitted, in consequence of the sudden death of the Secretary.

raised clouds of fine sand, which frequently drove the workmen from the mounds, filled up the trenches, and rendered our position extremely unpleasant: so dense was the sand-stream that the Arabs themselves were frequently lost in returning to the camp. When these facts are considered in connection with the wild character of the native Arab workmen whom I employed, it may be conceived that my labours were attended with considerable difficulties.

On the banks of the Lower Tigris and Euphrates the Arabs are divided into two classes:—*Fellah*, those who cultivate grain, and *Mádán*, who feed buffaloes. The latter name is used by the more civilized Arabs to designate all the low-caste tribes. Little pity can the solitary traveller expect, it is said, should he chance to fall into their clutches. During my first visits they manifested considerable kindness and good-nature, and, although at all times eager after money, they were always contented with a fair equivalent for the few articles they had to dispose of. On my last visit however nothing could exceed their avarice and rapacity; and their nightly quarrels for their wages over their watch-fires afforded scenes worthy of a Hogarth. This change in their character was doubtless owing to the fact that for two years the Euphrates had failed to overflow its banks, and there was consequently a dearth of provisions in the neighbourhood. So reduced were they for food, that I have frequently seen them eat the offal thrown away from my camp. For my own immediate party it was necessary to procure provisions from Súk-el-Shiúkh, sixty miles distant. Not a blade of grass even was procurable for my horses in the neighbourhood of the ruins.

The Mádán Arabs are small in stature and slightly built, but their proportions would do justice to an Apollo. In summer and winter their sole garment is an abba; a keffíeh, or head-dress, is seldom seen among them, their hair being permitted to hang loose or in plaits. Their swarthy countenances beam with intelligence, and a smile discloses a set of beautifully white teeth. Fire-arms are few; but every man wields his spear or bitumen-headed club, of which he is prepared to make good use whenever opportunity occurs or necessity requires it. The Mádán of the Montefik are constantly at feud among themselves, or with the neighbouring tribes of the Beni-Lám across the Shat-al-Kahr, and are liable to attacks from the Shammar, Aneiza, and Dhefyr Bedouins.

For some distance from the Euphrates the land is much cut up by water-channels, but the ruins are situated on a broad tract of desert soil, which extends ten miles eastward to Sinkara, and is never inundated. This slightly elevated tract bears north-by-east, and is caused by a rise of the stratification, which, from the frequency of shells on the surface, is of marine origin of comparatively recent date.

The principal portion of the ruins of Warkah are enclosed within an exterior wall, which forms an irregular circle of about five miles and a half in circumference. From the centre of the enclosed space rises the "Buáríah," the most lofty and ancient structure in the place. The scene from its summit is one of the most desolate yet imposing which can well be imagined: upon all sides is beheld a vast undulating sea of mounds, brown and scorched by the burning sun—a specimen of complete desolation and

decay. The Buáríah stands on an extensive platform between forty and fifty feet high, which runs in a general direction north and south, almost up to the wall. Upon this platform are also situated the other most important ruins. From its west edge, rise in solemn grandeur two massive square edifices of brickwork, whose bleached and lichen-covered sides attest the lapse of ages which have passed since the hand of man reared them above the surrounding desert. On the south of these structures, the platform is divided into two unequal parts by a wide ravine on a level with the exterior desert. Beyond this the remains of a small building crown the summit of a round-topped mound. At the extreme north of the platform, close to the wall, is a large conical mound. On either side of the platform, and between it and the wall, several small detached and irregular masses of low mounds occupy the level space. Outside the wall on the north, at the distance of two miles, is the dome-shaped pile of Nuffayjí, rivalling the Buáríah itself in height, together with several small conical mounds strewed around without any apparent order or design. On the north-east is another large-sized mound resembling Nuffayjí in form. The remains of a small ruin are likewise visible on the south-west. Traces of buildings and other proofs of former habitations are moreover observed to extend three miles beyond the walls towards the east.

The view of the horizon is not more cheering than that of the ruins. In the clear evening sky are faintly discernible in the west the few spots of Arab habitation which mark the course of the Euphrates at the mouth of the Graim, El Khuther, and Kalát Dúrájí.

These, with the great mound called Tel Ede or Yede, on the north-north-east, Sinkara ruins on the east-south-east, and a few trees towards the east on the Shat-al-Kahr, are all that the eye finds to dwell upon in the distance. The intervening space is a dry, barren, and dismal desert, without water, vegetation, or inhabitants.

I now proceed to describe the ruins *seriatim*.

THE "BUÁRÍAH."

This conspicuous central ruin appears to have originally been a tower 200 feet square, of sun-dried bricks supported by remarkable buttresses of kiln-baked bricks, which were concealed under rubbish until disclosed by the excavations. The total height of the Buáríah above the plain is about 100 feet. On the north side about twenty-seven feet of the sun-dried brickwork emerges from the surrounding rubbish, but this is deeply cut by ravines. The summit of the still-existing structure measures sixty-eight feet from north to south, and is perfectly level. The bricks are of various sizes and shapes, and differ from any I have observed among the numerous ancient edifices of Babylonia. They are rudely formed in slightly-dried mud, in which are fragments of pottery and fresh-water shells. They vary in size from seven to nine inches in length, by seven inches in width, and from three to three and a half in thickness.

The name of "Buáríah" signifies "reed-mats," and is similarly applied to other mounds in Mesopotamia, in the construction of which the reed-mat is conspicuous. Layers of reeds are placed at intervals of four or five and a half feet between the bricks. Each

layer is four inches in thickness, and is composed of three or four rows of reeds at right angles to each other; their ends form a series of projecting eaves beyond the exterior broken surface of the brickwork. Four or five rows of bricks are placed horizontally in the usual manner immediately upon and under each layer of reeds. The remainder of the building is constructed of bricks lengthwise on edge, having alternately their flat surfaces and narrow edges facing outwards.

At irregular distances are the oblong apertures which usually characterize Babylonian ruins of this description. At the Buáríah they are twelve or fourteen inches long, and six and a half or seven and a half inches wide; but I could not ascertain whether they pass completely through the body of the ruin: they appeared to be filled in with rubbish.

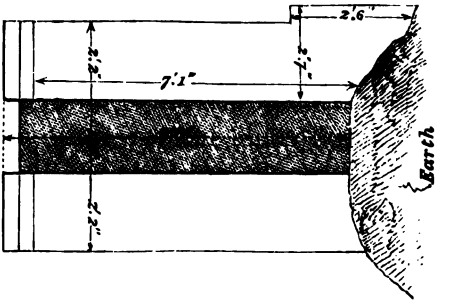
The cement used between the bricks is merely mud mixed with barley-straw, and had been freely applied; but at some places there are interstices of two or three inches, where it was either omitted or has been washed out.

The rubbish, extending from the base to the top of the pile, and resting against its base, appears to have fallen from some superstructure of kiln-baked bricks bearing cuneiform legends, but broken into fragments. Lumps of bitumen prove that this substance was used as cement.

I dug a considerable distance into the west angle of this massive pile of brickwork, in the hope of discovering the dedicatory cylinders which are usually deposited at the corners of Babylonian edifices: the result was unsuccessful, probably in consequence of the dis-

integrated condition of the external layers among which these valued records occur.

In the centre of the north-west and south-east sides (and most likely on the other two) are huge buttresses eighteen and a half feet high, and six and a half feet wide at the back. Each of them projects nine feet beyond the central unbaked-brick mass, tapering slightly as it ascends. Each buttress is double, and each portion two bricks (or two feet two inches) thick; these are connected together by an intermediate wall at the



back. The ground-plan of a buttress is here given, the shaded portion representing the space between them. These buttresses are built of flat kiln-bricks, the greater portion of which bear the impression of a stamp with eight lines of complicated monogrammatic cuneiform inscription, and are cemented with bitumen. According to Colonel Rawlinson this legend merely records the dedication of the edifice "to the Moon" by King Urukh about 2234 B.C.[6] A few bricks are inscribed with simple cuneiform, and exhibit the mode in which the monogrammic characters are formed.

[6] Before the time of Abraham, according to the received Chronology.

The remains of a wall were discovered on the summit of the Buáríah, from the bricks of which Colonel Rawlinson obtained the name of Sin-Shada, 1500 B.C.

A large enclosure evidently existed around the foot of this ruin, traces of which still remain; but the walls are so encumbered with drifted sand and rubbish that it is difficult to define their exact outline. They are built of vitrified bricks, with inscriptions of Merodach-Gina, who reigned about B.C. 1400. A portion of a wall 270 feet long, but scarcely elevated above the platform, occurs on the south-west at about 150 feet from the great mass of the Buáríah. At right angles on the north-west a more distinct wall runs 350 feet, and is separated from the former by a space of fifty feet, which was probably an entrance. A deep ravine terminates this wall at the other extremity. On the south-east the enclosure is bounded by a low wall or terrace 240 feet long, and thirty-five feet high, which likewise bounds the south-east edge of the great platform. The terrace is built of inscribed bricks, and at its north extremity is a square projecting turret or bastion. The place between this and the Buáríah is traversed by several deep ravines, which expose various inner walls of small red bricks pierced with six holes, and firmly embedded in thick layers of bitumen. Several trenches were dug at this side of the Buáríah, but they revealed nothing but a solid mass of unbaked bricks, upon which the terrace was constructed. The north-east wall is very indistinct. Within the above-described quadrangle are portions of walls and foundations, but so dilapidated and encumbered that it was impossible to determine the original plan.

"WUSWAS" BUILDING.

The name of this edifice is derived from an Arab tale, which is to the effect, that—"A Negro called Wuswas, having discovered a wall on the south-west side, excavated in it for gold. He found a valuable ring, but was alarmed by a vision to such a degree, that he made off with his spoil, and was never afterwards heard of." The superstitious Arabs have not since dared to enter the excavation, which they declare to be haunted. The name preserved in this legend may probably be the ancient one.

At the distance of 840 feet due west from the Buáríah, is the east corner of the quadrangle which surrounds this, the most interesting of the two large structures, on the edge of the great platform. From their general disposition it is presumed that they were temples.

The enclosure is oblong, and embraces an area of about 36,000 square yards. It is bounded by massive walls, which have long since fallen, and now form extensive and high ranges of mounds composed of broken bricks; the north and south angles point duly in those directions. The north-west and south-east sides are the longest, and measure 650 feet each; the others 500 feet each. An oblong court occupies the east angle of the quadrangle.

The most conspicuous and important portion of the Wuswas ruin is situated on the south-west side, and consists of a massive building of brickwork, 250 feet by 173 feet square, the summit of which is eighty feet above the plain. It is surrounded on three sides by terraces of different elevations, while the fourth pre-

sents a perpendicular façade. The architectural peculiarities herein exhibited are so remarkable and original as to pronounce at once the undoubted antiquity of the structure: they afford us also the first glimpses of the external ornamentation of Babylonian edifices. It is true that Colonel Rawlinson has recently made known the result of his researches at the Birs-i-Nimrúd, which is described as standing on the summit of seven consecutive terraces; and that Mr. Taylor, of Busrah, has explored the great building of Mugeyer; but, in both these cases, little or nothing of the superstructure remains. That of the Birs-i-Nimrúd is by far the more perfect of the two, yet there is nothing left by which any notion can be gained of its exterior.[7] In the Wuswas, however, we have a façade of 173¾ feet in length, and in some portions 23 feet in height, from which it is not difficult to complete a restoration to that height. This discovery is the more important, since it enables us to form a true notion of the external architecture of the Babylonians as well as of the Assyrians. For the first time we have some positive data by which to reconstruct the walls of the Ninevite palaces.

My attention was mainly directed during the last excavations to the south-west face of the Wuswas, where I had previously remarked certain architectural peculiarities. These are represented in Mr. Churchill's series of drawings, which are deposited in the British

[7] Since the above was written, I have learned that Colonel Rawlinson discovered on the basement terrace of the Birs-i-Nimrúd, an arrangement of seven half-columns similar to that hereafter described, although not identically the same, as on the Wuswas façade.

Museum. Trenches were therefore directed against this façade, where there appeared a probability that an entrance might be effected into the interior of the edifice. The edge of the broken wall at the summit having been laid bare, its uniformity of outline induced me to excavate at four different points. It soon however became evident that neither entrance nor window ever existed on this side. In consequence of the enormous accumulation of fallen brickwork and loose rubbish, the greatest care was necessary to prevent the workmen being buried by the falling in of the trench walls.

In further describing the results of the excavations at the south-west façade, I cannot do better than quote from Mr. Boutcher's Report on the subject, drawn up at my request for the Committee of the Assyrian Fund.

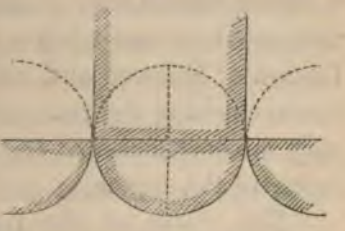
"Like all other Babylonian and Assyrian ruins, the 'Wuswas' building at Warkah is elevated from the plain on a lofty artificial platform. Although the portions now uncovered possess no beauty comparable with the artistic productions of subsequent ages, a broad air of grandeur must have attended the immense size and height of the edifice. It now furnishes an additional page to the annals of architectural art.

"At the height of some 50 feet above the plain a terrace of baked brick, 3 feet 5 inches wide, coated with a thin layer of white plaster, was in one place discovered. This, we presume, runs the entire length of the front, as there is no projection against which it might be stopped.

"From this terrace, in one unbroken perpendicular line, without a single moulding, rises the main wall

of the building. It is built of square baked bricks, bedded in thick mortar, and coated with a single layer of white plaster varying from 2 to 4 inches thick, which seems to have suffered more from the fall of the upper portion of the building than from its anterior exposure to the weather. The entire length of the front (in brick measurement) is 173 feet 4 inches. It is subdivided by slight recesses 12 feet 6 inches long. A wall of baked bricks 3 feet 6 inches thick at the north-west angle, and a mass of sun-dried bricks at the south-east, are traced under the rubbish, continuing the line of frontage some 15 feet on either side: these are, without doubt, the work of a later age. The characteristic features of the façade, repeated on the flank walls, distinctly mark the subsequent additions.

"The most striking feature of the front settles, I think, the moot question whether the Babylonians employed the column as an architectural embellishment. Seven times on the lower portion of the building is the same sacred number of half-columns repeated, the rudest perhaps which were ever reared, but built moulded with semicircular bricks bonded together, and each alternate layer tailed securely into the wall. The entire absence of cornice, capital, base, or diminution of shaft, so characteristic of other columnar architecture, and their peculiar and original disposition in rows like palm-logs, suggest the type from which they sprang. There is not a line in the face to which foreign influ-



ence can be traced. In the place of a plinth, a fillet of plaster, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, reconnects the line of wall broken by the receding curvature of the columns. A horizontal band, flush with the wall, passes over the top of the columns. From this, immediately over the three central columns of each group, rises a stepped recess 1 foot 9 inches deep, surmounted by a larger and a smaller crescent, a sacred emblem of Chaldæan worship. On either side of these recesses, over the first and seventh columns of each series, is a chasing, containing in its upper half a similar column to those before described, carried on a stone template. When coated with plaster, on account of the projection from the abutting, the column here employed could have had the appearance only of a convex-backed panel.

"The rest of the front, at intervals, is perpendicularly subdivided by chasings, 7 inches deep, extending uninterruptedly from the terrace to the highest point of the building now remaining. This chasing is visible in many other Babylonian ruins at the Mugeyer and at Sinkara; and when, as in this instance, it is coated with plaster, forming double recesses of $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches and 4 inches respectively, it has precisely the appearance delineated on one of the sculptures at Koyunjik (see Layard's 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 647). The nearer arrangement of the two groups of columns at each end vary in some measure the otherwise monotonous character of the façade.

"The whole of the front has been undoubtedly coated with plaster. There is not only no trace of colour, but no space whereon the gorgeous representations described by ancient authors could ever have been depicted."

Having failed to gain access from the exterior to the chambers supposed to exist within, I caused trenches to be opened upon the summit, where certain hollows and linear elevations indicated the probability of there being rooms. A long excavation at length led to the discovery of a small chamber, and hence, by tracing the tops of the walls, to that of six others. Beyond this, on account of the cost of excavation, it was deemed unadvisable to proceed. The general arrangement of these chambers resembles, in a remarkable manner, that of the Assyrian palaces, as regards their want of uniformity in size and shape, and the position of the doorways at the sides rather than at the centres of the rooms. The largest chamber measured 57 feet by 30 feet; the smallest 30 feet by 9 feet. A shaft was dug in the former, and the rubbish entirely cleared from the latter to the depth of 23½ feet. In both a brick pavement was reached, but not a fragment of stone was met with which might lead to the supposition that sculptured bas-reliefs were used in the decoration of the edifice. The internal pavement is on a level with the external terrace.

Of the interior Mr. Boutcher reports that, "the walls of the chambers are plastered, but no trace of colour is discernible. Portions of date-wood, 6 inches by 4 inches, were found in the small chamber; and apertures for beams are traceable in the walls, 12 feet high from the pavement. They extend however only partially the length of the room, leaving a species of well, down which light might have passed to the lower apartment. The other chambers must have been lit in some measure from above, but the precise mode is conjectural. There is neither window nor door along

the whole length of the front uncovered, by which light could have been admitted.

"The rubbish on all sides is of immense extent, rising from two to six feet above the ruins, completely filling every chamber, and extending from twenty feet to thirty feet from the base of the outside walls. This, and the great thickness of the outside walls remaining, gives some idea of the size of the fallen superstructure. The flank walls are thin compared with the front and internal walls. This peculiarity may possibly yield a suggestion as to the form of the fallen portion of the ruin."

It is necessary here to remark that the flank walls measure ten feet, while the front and some of the internal walls are no less than twenty feet in thickness. The impression produced was that these walls served to sustain arched roofs, above which there probably were additional stories.

With the exception of numerous fragments of glazed enamelled bricks, some with representations of seven-rayed stars, there was nothing discovered to indicate the mode of decoration employed. The fragments were obtained among the rubbish, both within and without the building. The colours of the enamel were black, white, yellow, green, and blue.

The principal entrance was subsequently exposed on the north-east face of the edifice. It leads into a large court or hall, in direct line with the centre of the great chamber above alluded to. The doorway is not in the centre of the front. On either side were plain brick jambs, one of which I pulled down in the vain hope of discovering a barrel-cylinder or other historical record. Fragments of ancient bricks, bear-

ing the legend of Sin-shada, most probably taken from the Buáríah, were built into this jamb. This serves to limit the antiquity of the Wuswas to a period subsequent to the date of that monarch.

With this exception every brick used in the construction of this edifice has a triangular stamp deeply impressed on its under side; they measure 12½ inches square and 3 inches thick. Lime-mortar is used. There were observed a few bricks having, in addition to the triangle, the impression of an oblong stamp, with thirteen lines of cuneiform writing. The characters were, from their size in all cases, exceedingly indistinct, being but slightly larger than those usually seen on clay records. Colonel Rawlinson examined the most perfect of these legends, and, from the apparent simplicity of the characters, was inclined to consider them as belonging, not to the Babylonian, but to the Parthian, or even to the Sassanian Era. I nevertheless believe that the Wuswas ruin will ultimately yield records to prove its Babylonian origin. This opinion is derived from the fact that, subsequently to the discoveries at Wuswas, buildings, which undeniably date back to the time of Sargon, and which exhibit precisely the same external architectural features, were exhumed in Assyria. It certainly appears improbable that a style of architecture so rude—we might almost say unsightly—should have remained unchanged during the dynastic convulsions which occurred in those regions, and the foreign influences which produced them. We know, on the contrary, that during the Greek occupation a far higher style of art was introduced, which had a sensible effect wherever it penetrated. We know also that Greek influence

was materially felt in Persia and Mesopotamia during the Parthian Era, and I shall shortly have occasion to show that a highly decorated building of this period actually existed in Warkah, very different from the one now described. Under these circumstances I consider it extremely improbable that the Wuswas is as late as the Parthian times.

Allusion has been made to three terraces of different elevations, which complete the circuit of the remaining sides of this great chambered edifice. That on the north-west is the lowest, not exceeding thirty-five feet in height. It extends however from the main structure to the enclosure-wall in one direction, and the whole length of the enclosure, or 650 feet, in the other. It is built of sun-dried bricks, although portions of rude walls and a kiln-baked brick pavement are here and there visible; these may be of comparatively modern construction. The other terraces are probably similar, but the rains have committed great havoc in their form, while masses of crumbling ruins cover their whole surface.

The north-east terrace extends at right angles from that on the north-west up to the south-east wall, and gradually ascends towards the south-east and highest terrace. This last occupies the space between the enclosure-wall and the edifice.

The remainder of the enclosure is taken up with a spacious court, which is only a few feet raised above the external platform. Two high walls separate this court from the north-west and north-east terraces.

There appear to have been three entrances to the enclosure; one from the south-east into this court, and two leading to the north-west terrace.

The exterior walls of the enclosure are of coarse kiln-baked bricks, bearing the usual triangular stamp. Some few are inscribed with complicated cuneiform, but are highly vitrified.

At 110 feet respectively from the extremities of the north-west wall, are two corresponding entrances above mentioned, each thirty feet in width. On the left of the northern entrance the bricks are much vitrified, bent and contorted, adhering to each other in masses, as at the Birs-i-Nimrúd. Upon the terrace within, upon the right, are the remains of a small square building of rough bricks. From this point the wall takes an irregular twist, but regains its original straight direction before reaching the other entrance. Here the left wall is of sun-dried brick, fifteen feet wide, the foundation being broken pottery. At right angles to this wall is another of baked bricks on edge, apparently part of a building corresponding with that at the other entrance. The rain-channels find an exit by these entrances.

Around the western angle the wall becomes low, and consists entirely of scoria and slag, but it afterwards rises above the surface-level of the terrace and terminates against the great pile.

A wide excavation has been made at the summit of the south corner, probably for bricks. A large block of limestone has been burned here; and in various other parts of the ruins similar stone has been destroyed by the Arabs in search of gold.

Outside the north-west wall, and immediately opposite the north entrance, is a small square mound covered with scoria. A similar mound stands near the centre of the south-east wall.

THE LARGE TEMPLE.

A deep ravine on the south of the Wuswas separates that building, with its enclosure, from a second edifice, which occupies an area of about the same size, and is similar in its general form.

It consists of a great square pile of brick masonry, and terraces on the north-east and north-west sides; but has no exterior court as at the Wuswas. The temple itself is more massive, and attains a somewhat higher elevation; but both of these structures were probably erected about the same date: the bricks are of precisely similar size and make, and bear the same triangular stamp; and low mounds of brick rubbish in like manner cover the summits.

The south-west and south-east sides were originally perpendicular; and it is somewhat remarkable that an excavation has been made likewise in this ruin at its south angle. It exposes a wall of unbaked bricks, probably a subsequent enlargement of the edifice.

The terraces in all respects resemble those at the Wuswas, but the remains of shallow buttresses are observable along the face of the north-west terrace-wall.

The entrance or entrances have undoubtedly been on the north-east, along which side of the enclosure is traceable a wall of inscribed and vitrified bricks.

Between the Buáríah and the two great ruins above described is a level space, which may have been a court or enclosure connecting them together.

CONE-BRICK EDIFICE.

At the very base of the great platform at the south angle of the Buáríah enclosure is the remain-

ing fragment of an exceedingly remarkable building. From its position, scarcely above the level of the desert, I regard it as one of the earliest relics discovered at Warkah. It consists of a wall, 30 feet in length, composed of terra-cotta cones, each 3½ inches long, which are imbedded in a cement of mud and chopped straw. The cones are laid horizontally, and therefore have their circular bases outwards. Their natural colour is a dirty yellow, but the bases of many have been dipped in black or red paint. With these three colours they are arranged in various ornamental patterns, such as diamonds, triangles, zigzags, and stripes. The plan of the wall is as follows:—A plane surface, 14 feet 10 inches long, of which 3 feet 3 inches are broken away, projects 1 foot 9 inches beyond a series of columns: two of these columns are visible on one side, and nearly six on the other. They are arranged side by side, as in the Wuswas façade, and indicate a similar origin. Each column differs from its neighbour in design, but that nearest to the projection on either side presents a front of only 1 foot 8 inches, which is ten inches less than the others. It is much to be regretted that the wall did not extend further, as it would have been interesting to ascertain if the number of columns abreast agreed with that at the Wuswas, viz. seven. The highest point of the wall did not exceed six feet. Cross-trenches failed to disclose other portions of this edifice. No trace of walling behind the cones could be distinguished from the mass of surrounding earth; but that such a wall, possibly of sun-dried bricks, once existed, is evident from the slender nature of the remaining relic.

Similar, but much larger, cones are found in ancient

Egyptian tombs, inscribed with hieroglyphs on the base; they are said to have been let into the wall above the entrance, but have not been seen in that position. The hieroglyphs were probably the names of the deceased. From their resemblance to the Egyptian cones, it is not unreasonable to conclude that those found at Warkah were used for a similar purpose; and that the edifice ornamented with them was a sepulchral monument. None of the cones however bore inscription or other mark whereby this point could be decided; but the fact that Warkah was a vast necropolis is strongly presumptive evidence in favour of this conclusion.

Cones of the same description were not unfrequently dug up in various parts of the great platform. In some cases they were firmly fixed in strong gypsum-plaster or cement; but they constituted no portion of a building remaining *in situ*. Excavations on a large scale would probably disclose additional information on this remarkable style of architecture, and on the age at which it prevailed.

For my own part I have no doubt of its Babylonian origin. Terra-cotta cones are usually found in undoubted Babylonian ruins which have not been built upon by later Dynasties. Cones, or rather horns, of terra-cotta occur on the same ruins. Specimens of these are now in the British Museum, from Warkah and elsewhere, bearing inscriptions of very early date in cuneiform around the outer surface, but not on the base, as in the Egyptian cones.[8]

[8] The plan and elevation of this edifice of cone-bricks, exhibiting the designs on its surface, are given in the first Report published

SOUTH-WEST BUILDING.

Within a stone's throw south-west of the Wuswas façade are the remains of another curious and original building, exhibiting certain points of resemblance to that last described. It rises from the level of the desert to the height of about sixty feet, and appears to have been a tower of unbaked brick. The enormous quantity of broken pottery on its surface and around its base attracted my attention. On excavating on the north-east side I discovered a species of basement, or perhaps terrace, of unbaked bricks abutting against a mass of compact earth. Upon the latter was raised a wall which consisted of alternate layers of unbaked brickwork and a peculiar species of vases. This wall was traced about 100 feet, and seemed to have been built without any regular plan. At one point it projects outwards four feet, is rounded off, and then recedes eight feet. After following its original direction 43 feet, it forms an obtuse angle and again bears as before. Above the foundation are a few layers of unbaked bricks, superimposed on which are three rows of vases. These are arranged horizontally, with their mouths outwards, and immediately upon one another.

This order of brick and pot-work is repeated three times. Above the last row of vases is a considerable mass of unbaked brick.

The vases vary in size from ten to fifteen inches in

by the Assyrian Excavation Fund. One of the cone-bricks is also drawn full-size on the previous page of the Report.

In Mr. Taylor's account of his excavations at Mugeyer and Abu-Shahrein (see 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xv. part 2) mention is made of similar terra-cotta cones, and inscribed horns or priapi, as having been found in his trenches at those localities.

length; the general diameter at the mouth being four inches. The cup is only six inches deep, consequently the conical end is solid. From their thickness throughout they would bear considerable superincumbent pressure: the greater number were however broken.

With their circular mouth outwards, these vases produced an effect even more strange than that of the cones in the last-described edifice.

Except for the purpose of ornament, it is difficult to conceive the utility of these vases.[9]

An excavation was made into the centre of this structure, but failed to discover anything but earth and sun-dried brick.

SCULPTURE.

As connected with the buildings of the same period, I may here describe the only piece of sculpture as yet discovered at Warkah.

On the first day of my last visit to the ruins, previously to the commencement of the excavations, as we were struggling over the soft yielding soil of the mounds, Mr. T. Lynch directed my attention to a lump of basalt which cropped (to use a geological term) out of the ground about 100 feet south of the cone-brick edifice.[10] On being uncovered and turned

[9] At Mosul and other Oriental towns the walls of the terraces, upon which the natives sleep during the hot nights of summer, are very tastefully ornamented with vases and pipe-tiles, forming pretty open-work patterns. I have seen no instance in modern houses of foundations or lower walls of pottery.

[10] I had previously observed this block, on my second visit to Warkah, and had set two Arabs to dig it up: they were unable to move it. My attention was called to other matters, and the block of stone was forgotten.

over, it proved to be a block of columnar basalt, measuring 3 feet 10 inches long by 1 foot 5 inches wide on each of its four faces. Three sides are rough and uncut, but the fourth, which was undermost, bore a figure sculptured in low relief, 3 feet in height. It represents a warrior in short tunic, which is confined at the waist by a girdle, in which is placed a dagger or short sword. The hair is long; round the head is a narrow fillet. The left arm crosses the breast, while the right is raised; the hand wielding a short spear, as though in the act of transfixing a prostrate foe or animal. In every respect it resembles the wild Arab of the present day. The design is spirited, and the outline correct; but the execution is rough, and the block appears to have suffered generally from long exposure and ill-usage. There is a certain archaic character about the bas-relief which marks it as one of the earliest relics from the ruins. The block was broken into four pieces, the effect probably of the fires lighted by the Arabs for the purpose of discovering gold inside.

Many trenches were dug in the immediate vicinity of this bas-relief, in the hope of meeting with other remains of similar nature, but without success.

THE WALLS OF THE CITY.

Among the more ancient ruins of Warkah I class the city walls. These may be traced with little difficulty throughout their entire circuit round the ruins. They take the form of an irregular circle of five and a half miles in circumference: at the cardinal points slight angles are perceptible.

The highest portion of the walls is on the north-

east side, near a conical mound.[11] At this point they still reach forty feet in height above the plain, while the quantity of rubbish at their base shows that they have been originally much higher.

From the north-east to the south the average height is from 20 to 25 feet. Numerous breaks exist along this portion of the walls, three or four of which were undoubtedly entrances. Pottery, vitrified and inscribed bricks, scoria, and glass, are found here in abundance, as well as elsewhere among the ruins. The brick foundations of the wall itself, seven feet wide, may be distinctly traced at several places.

From south to west the course of the wall is only traceable on a level with the desert by means of the darker colour of the soil, and the remains of semi-oval turrets or towers, fifty yards apart. These were open towards the interior of the city, and had a wall of from 4 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick facing the desert.

On the north-west the wall may be followed over several high mounds of slag and scoria, while others, covered with the same substances, are here visible on the right and left.

The difference in height of the walls on the north-east and south-west sides is somewhat remarkable; but this may be satisfactorily accounted for by the fact that a large river or canal flowed along the north-east wall, which must of necessity have been sufficiently strong to withstand any sudden and extraordinary rise of the stream.

Many of the relics, such as glass, etc., on the surface of the walls, indicate that the city was occupied at a late period of its history by the Parthians; for to them

[11] Marked F on the Plan.

is most probably to be ascribed the large quantity of glass which usually covers the sites occupied by their Dynasty.

I have thus far endeavoured to describe such edifices as belong, in my opinion, to the period anterior to the time of Alexander the Great. I cannot attempt to determine the precise date of any of these remains, but I class them generally as Babylonian. I now proceed to describe certain conspicuous conical mounds of doubtful age, but which may eventually prove to belong to the same early period, although we are at present without sufficient data to pronounce a deliberate opinion upon them.

CONICAL MOUNDS.

Only two structures of this kind exist within the circuit of the city walls.

Of these the more important is situated about 250 feet from the north-east side.[12] Its height is 45 feet, including 15 feet of mound or platform upon which it stands. Trenches were dug completely through this cone from summit to base. It consists entirely of unbaked brick, and failed to yield a single relic: it has probably been a watch-tower.

The great platform, so often mentioned, commences from this conical mound, and slopes gradually upwards until it attains its highest elevation near the Buáríah. Few remains of buildings are to be seen near the north and north-east wall, although now and then a brick with a triangular stamp is met with, to indicate that such formerly existed.

[12] F of the Plan.

About midway between the above-described mound and the Buáríah is a second but smaller cone.[13] It was likewise cut through, and revealed a foundation of bitumen in its centre, halfway up.

Outside the walls are several other conical mounds of similar description.

Of these the most important and conspicuous is that called Nuffayjí,[14] about two miles due north of the Buáríah. Its height is 90 feet, and the circumference of its base 950 feet. The sides are so steep as to render the ascent to its summit both difficult and dangerous. It appears to be a pile of solid loam, but on the west side near the summit is a great quantity of broken pottery. Nuffayjí is one of the most remarkable objects at Warkah, standing solitary in the desert, but towering to an equal height to the Buáríah.

It is difficult to imagine the purpose of erecting a structure of such magnitude outside the walls; and it is the more curious, as the isolated position of the Birs-i-Nimrúd has hitherto formed the principal obstacle to the determination of the topography of ancient Babylon. The Arabs have a tradition that it was raised by a besieging army; but that, finding it to be too far distant from the city, they built a second mound,[15] similar to Nuffayjí, nearer the walls.

Between Nuffayjí and the walls are numerous small conical mounds, two of which correspond in size and height.[16] They seem also, from their position, to have been in some way connected with the

[13] H of the Plan.
[14] K of the Plan.
[15] Q of the Plan.
[16] L and M of the Plan.

large mound: they are 28 feet high, and measure 526 feet in circumference each.

The last remaining conical mound[17] is situated about 800 yards from the north-east wall. It measures 40 feet in height, and 170 feet in circumference at its base. At 800 feet from its north-west base are the remains of an enclosure 450 feet square, with a mound 20 feet high at its east corner.

The space between these mounds and the city walls is strewed with evidences of former industry; and they extend for a distance of three miles into the desert on the east.

Having failed to obtain any information by excavating in the two conical mounds within the walls, I did not venture to make further experiments on those outside.

While describing the conical mounds without the walls, it may not be amiss to mention a small and apparently insignificant one,[18] of a different shape, just outside the south-west wall: it measures 76 paces by 110 paces square, and its highest point does not exceed 14 feet. Strewed over the surface of this area were numerous kiln-bricks of a fine quality, moulded as spiral columns and ornamented capitals (?) of a peculiar character. One brick bore in relief a sun or star with twelve rays. None of these were *in situ*, but they lay scattered about indiscriminately. Several specimens of these bricks are deposited in the British Museum. In addition to the above, there were found here nearly every variety of inscribed bricks which occurs elsewhere among the ruined buildings and mounds of Warkah: they have evidently

[17] O of the Plan. [18] Q of the Plan.

been conveyed hither from them. The same kind of greenish scoria and other relics are strewed around as in other portions of the ruins within the walls.

The edifices I am now about to describe belong without doubt to a much later date than the larger and more massive ruins. It would probably be more correct to include them in the account of the great feature of this remarkable "City of the Dead,"—the Necropolis, but that I think it best to finish with the architectural portion of the subject.

THE SOUTH OR PARTHIAN (?) RUIN.

It has been already mentioned that a ravine of 380 feet in width, probably a main road or watercourse, divides the great platform into two unequal parts on the south of the large edifices. On the south-east corner of the smaller division, but separated from it by a deep incurved channel, stands a small square mound reaching to a height of 40 feet. On the summit are the remains of a chamber 45 feet long by 25 feet wide; it was completely filled with rubbish. The walls inside were plastered. The entrance is at the north-east, on either side of which is a three-quarter column; while another of similar kind stands at each of the two corners of the south-east side. These columns are built with triangular moulded bricks, without mark. The others bear generally the triangular stamp so peculiar to the Wuswas and its fellow-ruin; but they have evidently been used here at a much more recent period, as they are built in with other materials in a rude manner.

At a lower level, on the south side of the same mound, two connected chambers were excavated. The remains of an arched doorway led into the first, and an oval brick sarcophagus was built into a recess of the second and inner room. This tomb was plastered inside, and was filled with rubbish from the fallen building. Both the walls and floors of the two chambers were likewise plastered, and the floor of the inner slopes towards a square hole in the front wall. It is possible that this edifice was a lavatory for the dead; hence the use of the sarcophagus and sloping floor. Many of the bricks are stamped with the Wuswas stamp, but are rudely built with mortar, and frequently placed on their edges. From the discovery here of a broken clay figure, and from the generally rude character of this edifice, I am inclined to attribute it to the Parthians.

Near to this chamber was a pavement of vitrified slabs, a substance frequently noticed in Mesopotamia; this is however the first time I have seen a pavement composed of it. These slabs measure 2 feet 4 inches square, and are polished on the surface, though rough elsewhere.

The ascent to this mound appears to have been by flights of steps on the south-east and south-west, conducting to a terrace. At the angle formed by the above-mentioned sides is a projection of brickwork twenty feet square. It is of pyramidal form, and was ascended by steps, which are now broken away.

OTHER BUILDINGS OF THE SOUTH PLATFORM.

The remaining portion of this platform attains the height of 40 feet, and upon it are fragments of a build-

ing or buildings constructed of kiln-bricks which are placed alternately flat and on edge. Masses of this kind of brickwork are seen on the surface; one remains *in situ*, five feet square, appearing like the jamb of a doorway: a coat of plaster, three inches thick, covers the whole exterior. The bricks are distinctly marked on their under surface with impressions of reed matting; but not one bears the Wuswas stamp, nor are any found with inscriptions. The lime cement is of a grey colour, and was thickly applied.

Several blocks of similar brickwork rest on a foundation of broken pottery; and, as the whole surface of the mound is covered with fragments of funeral vases of the same description, there is no doubt of the comparatively recent construction of these buildings. These, from the peculiar method of laying the bricks, may undoubtedly be assigned to a late period of the Parthians.

Numerous other instances occur of Parthian buildings at Warkah; but these are of little or no importance compared with that which I shall now describe on a small detached mound, the most easterly within the walls, and which has afforded some of the most valuable relics and information obtained at this locality.

GREEK AND PARTHIAN MOUND.

This mound is situated about half a mile south-east of the Buáríah, is of an irregular oval form, and attains the height of 40 feet above the plain. Having picked up a few fragments of ornamental plasterwork, I was induced to make excavations on its summit. The result was the discovery of a chamber 40 feet long by

28 feet wide, of which the walls remaining did not exceed four feet in height: these were formed of unbaked bricks, covered internally with coloured plaster. The floor was completely covered with fragments of fallen cornices, capitals of half-columns, and innumerable other architectural ornaments, all bearing strong symptoms of the influence exercised by Greek art in this remote region, while they exhibit an Oriental origin. The larger objects are constructed of moulded bricks covered with a thin layer of fine white plaster; the smaller ones are cast in plaster alone. Rich and fantastic colouring is everywhere visible.

One fragment of cornice bore, among other devices, a spirited crouching griffin, having a remarkable resemblance to the same figure on a frieze at the ruins of Al Hathr, near Mosul. It was accompanied by the Greek echinus-bead.

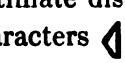
Three of the capitals are Ionic, but the proportions of the volutes and other members are peculiar. A fourth description of small capital has peculiarities of its own. A large and elegant leaf rises from the neck, and bends under each corner of the abacus. In the centre, springing from behind a smaller curled leaf, is the bust of a figure wearing an enormous head-dress,[19] especially characteristic of the time of the Sassanians.

For the large capitals there were found no corresponding columns, but the walls appear to have been adorned with numerous small Ionic columns having half-smooth, half-fluted shafts: these were highly coloured. The lower and smooth portions were striped

[19] This head-dress also occurs, as will be hereafter noticed, on the surface of coffins discovered also at Warkah.

diagonally with red, green, yellow, and black; the flutes were painted black, red, and yellow alternately, the level ridges between them being left white. In some cases the flutes were quartered with the same colours.

Among the *débris* may be enumerated the following smaller articles:—bases of columns, friezes; on which are introduced bunches of grapes alternating with leaves; gradines ornamented with a six-rayed star and circle in relief; fragments of open screenwork, exhibiting on each side a different geometric pattern of complicated design, but not to be confounded with the arabesque; and portions of the painted plaster which had fallen from the ceilings and walls. There were likewise many pieces of plaster figures, coloured and sometimes gilded: (1) the lower part of a draped figure with a lamp in the left hand; (2) a well-formed leg; (3) two feet; 4, another foot wearing a sandal; and (5) a left arm supporting drapery.

I was at first inclined to ascribe this edifice to the Greeks; but the ultimate discovery of what may perhaps be Pehlevi characters  scratched on a piece of plaster, the strange head-dress, and the general character of the ornamental details, induced me to arrive at the conclusion that it was erected by the Parthians.[20]

Among the most important discoveries made at Warkah may be classed that of eight baked clay tablets, which were dug up within twenty paces from and at three feet below the level of the chamber above described. They differ in many respects from

[20] A selection from the plaster ornaments discovered in this chamber is now in the British Museum.

the tablets hitherto obtained: they are made of a peculiar kind of reddish-yellow clay, measure an inch in thickness, and bear, round their flat edges, the impressions of seals with the name of "the party to the deed" written below in cuneiform characters. Above each seal are the characters . Many of these seals are remarkable for their extreme beauty, and exhibit the perfection attained in the art of gem engraving. The largest tablet measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches. Each is inscribed with from twelve to twenty lines of writing on each side; but the characters are so minute and complicated as to require examination with the microscope. They were found close to the surface of the mound, among charred date-wood, and lying on decayed straw-matting imbedded with bitumen.

A description of these tablets, as far as I am able to give it, may not be uninteresting.

No. 1. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches × 4 inches. Lines of inscription 20 and $18\frac{1}{2}$. Number of seals 12, *i. e.* on each edge 3, all oval, some elongated and pointed; the largest and most important are central at top and bottom. Of these, one, rather indistinct, appears to represent the winged Deity, before whom is a well-defined isosceles triangle, precisely resembling that on the bricks of the large temple at Warkah.[21] On the right of this impression is a very fine head, having a likeness to Socrates. On the centre of the opposite edge is a very expressive Greek face, beardless, and by no means unlike Alexander the Great. To the left of this are represented two figures, male and female;

[21] This is additional evidence that this building and the "Wus-was" are not of Parthian origin.

the former with his back turned to a graceful column, apparently without base, but crowned with a voluted capital. At the side of this tablet is a Greek head with helmet and plume: the other impressions are less distinct.

No. 2. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches × $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One corner is broken off: it appears to have had originally 20 or 21 impressions. There occur on this tablet a spirited Sphinx, the head surmounted by a four-turreted crown; several other Sphinxes; and several damaged seals.

No. 3. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches × 4 inches. Lines of inscription 20 and 17. Number of seals 18, some of which are remarkably beautiful, perfect, and spirited. They comprise: (1) a roaring lion, a moon and star; (2) a wild ass trotting, crescent above; (3) winged sagittarius, crescent in front; (4) winged griffin, with single horn, resembling the same figure on the rock tombs at Persepolis; (5) a Sphinx. The other impressions are less distinct, but the crescent is discernible in all.

No. 4. A smaller tablet, with only two distinct impressions: (1) the fish-god Ovannes (?), with goat's head and fore-legs, a star in front, an eagle with outstretched wings (Hormuzd ?) hovers behind; (2) a male figure, followed by a female.

No. 5. The only impression very distinct is that of a Babylonian (in profile), with long robe, and bearing a staff in one hand.

The impressions on the three remaining tablets are more or less damaged.

The frequent repetition of the heavenly bodies, and the presence of zodiacal signs, are worthy of notice:

they seem to imply some connection with Chaldæan worship. This idea is confirmed by Colonel Rawlinson's examination of the inscriptions upon the tablets. The matter relates entirely to the domestic economy of the temples. The names attached to the seals are in many cases Greek written in Babylonian characters. They are dated in various years of the reigns of Seleucus and Antiochus the Great; thus satisfactorily proving that the cuneiform writing was practised as late as about 200 years B.C. These tablets therefore are the latest known documents of the cuneiform period. Before this discovery the most recent records of this style extant were the Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes Ochus at Persepolis, and on the porphyry vase at Venice, about 350 B.C. It is very remarkable that no monuments of the intermediate 150 years have ever yet been brought to light; yet that period cannot be without its cuneiform memorials. Let us hope therefore that these may in course of time be discovered, to add to our knowledge of that eventful era.

Having now described all the principal edifices and mounds at Warkah,

THE NECROPOLIS

next attracts our attention.

It is a very remarkable fact that, while the excavations in Assyria have failed to afford us any information relative to the disposal of the dead in those early times, nearly every site examined in Chaldæa abounds with funeral relics. This bears out the statement of the Greek historian Arrian, that the old Assyrian Kings were buried among the marshes of this region. From the enormous accumulation of human remains,

it would appear that the Warkah was a peculiarly sacred spot, and that it was so esteemed for many successive centuries. The custom of conveying the dead from a great distance to be buried at a holy shrine prevails at the present day among the Persians. Thousands of coffins are annually brought from all parts of the Shah's dominions, some even from India, to be deposited in the cemeteries of Meshed Ali and Kerbelah, about 130 miles distant from Warkah, on the west of the Euphrates.

No description can possibly convey a correct idea of the piles upon piles of coffins which astound the visitor to Warkah. With the exception of the triangular space between the three great ruins, every other portion of the platform, every foot within the walls, and an unknown distance beyond them, is filled with the bones and relics of the dead. I have nowhere been able to ascertain the depth to which these remains extend. Some of the sepulchral mounds attain the height of sixty feet, but, owing to the looseness of the soil, it was impossible to penetrate deeper than thirty feet[22] without enormous expense.

As regards a portion of these funeral relics, their precise age is at present only conjectural. Although we are able to make a tolerable guess on the subject, they have as yet afforded no positive data by which they may be classified beyond the reach of cavil. Still however we have sufficient evidence to prove that the necropolis was used from a very remote age, down to about the fourth century after Christ. It was

[22] The walls of one trench at this depth gave way, and buried the workmen, one of whom had his shoulder-blade broken by the accident.

certainly deserted before the Mohamedan conquest of Persia, since not a coin nor other vestige of that era is to be found.

Among the more ancient relics I would include:—

1. The inscribed terra-cotta horns previously alluded to. According to Colonel Rawlinson they are dedicated to Belus: they were found on the surface.

2. Several dark-brown tablets of unbaked clay, measuring 9 inches × 7 inches, inscribed with columns of cuneiform. One of these gives the names of various trees. They were dug up from the desert-level at the north side of the ruins, where they were arranged horizontally upon a fragment of brick pavement.

3. Small terra-cotta figures, among which are—a naked female clasping her breasts, and an old man wearing a skull-cap and long robe bound round the waist with a belt, and holding some unknown object in his hands.

4. At the very base of the Greek mound were two well-built brick vaults, cemented with bitumen, and lined with plaster. Near to them was dug up a rude jar containing fragments of linen, in which had been folded a thin silver plate, 2 inches long by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch wide. This is embossed with a beautiful female figure, having both hands raised in the attitude of adoration. The hair hangs loosely behind: the dress folds naturally from the waist to the feet.[23]

I was not fortunate in discovering at Warkah any tombs of undoubted early antiquity, but the above

[23] The whole character of this relic proclaims its great antiquity, while the attitude and dress of the figure recall to mind the rock sculptures of Mal Amír, in the Bakhtiyari Mountains of Persia.

objects indicate the existence of such at this locality as well as at Sinkara, Mugeyer, and other sites. If it were possible to penetrate the vast accumulation of more recent deposits, we should undoubtedly arrive at very ancient sepulchres beneath. The very fact that the usual accompaniments of these tombs are found on the outskirts of the mounds, ought to be admitted as evidence of their existence.

The next objects in point of antiquity are those exhumed from the edge of the great platform east of the Buáríah. I one day observed the corners of two large bricks projected from beneath the rubbish on the summit. As they possessed the vitrified appearance which generally at Warkah indicates an inscription in cuneiform, I removed them for examination, and, in doing so, exposed two small but broken tablets of unbaked clay, covered on both sides with minute Babylonian characters. On searching further I discovered others, and eventually succeeded, with a penknife, in extracting and preserving a series of about forty, more or less perfect.

There were many others, but, notwithstanding all the pains taken, several were unavoidably broken, from being imbedded in tenacious earth; while some were destroyed by the shrinking of the brick pavement on which they lay disposed, in regular order, side by side. The rain has unfortunately filtered through the superimposed earth and rubbish; hence a deposit of brown mud has accumulated between the terrace or pavement and the tablets, which are on this account generally injured on one side. From the same cause a great many were decayed, and fell to pieces on exposure. The specimens preserved differ in size, and vary

from 2 to 4½ inches in length, and from 1 to 3 inches in breadth.

The largest tablet contains on one side twenty, and on the other twenty-one lines of exceedingly delicate cuneiform characters. In some cases the lines of writing are continued along the edges or carried over upon the ends.

On clearing away the rubbish from the surface of the bricks, I discovered that they formed the flooring of a terrace 32 feet long and 4 feet wide, but which had probably been somewhat wider. One brick alone bore an inscription,[24] and was of finer quality than the rest, which were without legends. At the back of the terrace was a wall of sun-dried bricks, 10 or 12 feet thick, and about 4 feet high. The whole were covered with two feet of rubbish and charcoal. Lying upon the terrace were several exceedingly interesting articles, of which the most important are the following:—

1. A piece of burnt alabaster, in form of a cone, 3 inches long, drawn out at the back into a kind of ridge which runs lengthwise. The base is nearly circular, and has in it, as if for the insertion of a rod, a round hole. The top of this cone is broken off at a point where there is a slight projection, probably portion of a grotesque head. Two scrolls, delicately engraved, extend downwards from the fracture: at the left side of one of these is a broken inscription in Assyrian.

2. Portion of the hinge and left valve of a bivalve shell (*Tridacna squamosa*). On the exterior are represented, in delicate carving, the heads, necks, and fore legs of two horses at full speed, as in the act of

[24] It precisely resembled the bricks of Urukh in the buttresses of the Buárîah, from which it is probably taken.

drawing a chariot, which is unfortunately wanting. The necks and shoulders of the horses are covered with trappings and armour. They are without bits; but a species of rein is attached to the under jaw, and from it depend two bells or tassels. The driving reins are fastened to semicircular processes behind the horses' ears, similar to those depicted on the bas-reliefs at Nineveh. Flowers of the lotus, in every stage of expansion, from the bud to the full-blown flower, are introduced upon every available space around the horses and over the hinge. The interior of the shell[25] bears an ornamental basket (?) filled with buds and flowers of the same plant: the inner surface is slightly discoloured with iron rust, from its contact with—

3. Fragments of a sword, having a brass knob at the handle.

4. A clay goblet, of elegant form.

5. An ivory panel, 4 inches long, but in a state of rapid decomposition. It is only possible to distinguish upon it two small scrolls proceeding from a central point, and the figure of some animal. It is pierced with two holes for the purpose of attachment.

6. A circular piece of thick alabaster, 7 inches in diameter, flat on one side, with a large mammillated projection, 3 inches high, on the other: this had evidently been formed by the lathe.

7. Another piece of alabaster, apparently the base of a small column.

8. Fragments of two large mushroom-shaped cylin-

[25] Mr. Layard, in 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 563, gives a drawing of this engraved shell, and remarks on its similarity to one from an Etruscan tomb, now in the British Museum.

ders, upon the flat tops and stems of which are cuneiform records. They exhibit marks of fire, as do all the other objects found near them.

9. A broken brick, with a stamp, in relief, of a circular-topped altar on a pedestal, surmounted by a seven-rayed star.

Beyond the spot where the greatest part of the tablets were extracted, two more bricks were observed in precisely the same position as those which first attracted my attention; they rested against two others, as shown in the accompanying Section. Beneath the shelter thus formed were three more tablets, lying upon a large brick, 17 inches square, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick: a hole in the centre enabled me to raise it. A well-built vault, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches $\times$ $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square and 21 inches deep, was disclosed, having a second but only partial covering of three bricks resting as a ledge, as shown in the Section and Plan. The vault was filled

with earth, and the fragments of one or two large jars or sepulchral vases. Whatever their contents had originally been, there were no traces of them left. The sides of the vault were constructed of small sun-dried bricks: it was without flooring. At the left corner, and towards the front of the terrace, was a small square hole (shown in the Plan), in which lay a broken dish

or earthenware jar, and upon which a large flat brick had rested. At the back of the terrace, behind the two inclined bricks, was a broken vase, which contained reed ashes and burned bones reduced to small lumps and crumbling to powder.

At the north extremity of this terrace was another vault. The bricks were cemented with bitumen, and the roof had fallen in. It in every respect resembled the one just described, except that, instead of the small square recess being placed anglewise to the vault, it was in direct communication with it. Broken pottery, burnt reeds, and date-stones were found within; and, near the top, portions of a lamb's jaw.

This terrace was terminated by two bricks, bearing the stamp of the sun and altar. The stamped sides were turned against a turret or projection of the mud-brick wall. At a few feet above the level of the pavement, but in a turret, was a vault or grave 6 feet long, rifled of its contents.

On the opposite or north side of a deep ravine, which doubtless was a principal access to the Buáríah enclosure, excavations were made, and a second terrace discovered; this measured 40 feet long by 4 feet wide. It was paved with bricks, each of which bore an indistinct inscription of Cambyses, the brother of Cyrus, a personage of whom we have no historical notice. The cuneiform characters are in relief. The only articles found here were among a quantity of charred date-wood near the ravine. They comprise a series of round-headed nails of iron and copper, pieces of copper plates through which the nails had passed, a few beads, and a large ornament for the neck, of rhomboidal form. Two vaults were here discovered similar

to those on the other terrace, but they were only covered by a flat brick having a hole in the centre, and were without the two bricks resting at an angle upon two others. The square hole outside was on the right hand, and communicated directly with the vault. A row of bricks placed on their edges against a sun-dried wall terminated this terrace.

Colonel Rawlinson examined the objects obtained upon these two terraces, and states concerning the tablets that "they were official documents issued by order of the King, attested or indorsed by the great officers of state, and referring to specific amounts in weight of gold or silver. He could not help suspecting that the Babylonian Kings, in an age when coined money was unknown, used these pieces of baked clay for the mere purpose of a circulating medium. The smaller cakes, he thought, corresponded to the notes-of-hand of the present day, the tenor of the legends being apparently an acknowledgment of liability, by private parties, for certain amounts of gold and silver. The more formal documents seemed to be notes issued by the Government for the convenience of circulation, representing a certain value, which was always expressed in measures of weight, of gold or silver, and redeemable on presentation at the royal treasury."[26] Each tablet is inscribed with the precise year of the king's reign in which it was issued. The following names have been deciphered :—

Nabopollasar	625–605 B.C.
Nabonidus	538– —
Cyrus the Great . . .	536–525
Darius I.	521–485

From this list it would appear that the tablets and

[26] See the 'Athenæum' for March 15, 1851.

articles associated with them were deposited in the position where they were discovered about the commencement of the Achæmenian period.

From the result of excavations made in the neighbouring ruins of Sinkara, we derive the information that, in some instances, the Babylonians burned the private records and other property with the body of deceased. Such appears to have been the case in the present instance; the bones of the dead being deposited in a vase and placed in a vault, the records arranged over the vault, and the whole submitted to the flames.

This however was not the only mode of disposing of the dead. Burial in urns or vases was customary from very early times, and was much practised at Warkah. From the discovery of coins in connection with many of these urns, it would seem this mode was very prevalent with the Parthians, to whom it was handed down from antiquity. The usual form of the urns resembles a top; they are lined inside with bitumen, and are usually covered with bricks at the mouth; many however have a cover, which is cemented to the urn. Vessels of this description contain a single head, or the bones of a human being, and are at Warkah laid horizontally. Inside are found engraved cylinders or gems, beads and neck-ornaments, and rings of shell. It is by no means uncommon to meet with a coffin (if such a term is applicable) formed by two such urns, one slightly smaller than the other. They are placed mouth to mouth and then cemented together, containing one or more bodies. There are various other forms of these burial-pots, but they all sink into insignificance when compared with those glazed earthen

coffins, whose fragments occur in such amazing abundance on the surface as to mark them as one of the chief peculiarities of this remarkable spot. As civilization progressed, they appear to have superseded the more rude descriptions of burial-vases, and to have been generally adopted. The piles on piles of these coffins are self-evident proofs of the successive generations by whom this method of burial was practised. I will not venture a guess at the date of their first introduction, but they were certainly in use, and that commonly, at the time Warkah was abandoned under the Sassanians.

These remarkable coffins have somewhat the form (to use a homely similitude) of an elongated "slipper-bath," gradually tapering towards the feet, and with an oval aperture for the admission of the body: they are however much more elegant and symmetrical than the household article alluded to. The aperture is flattened, and furnished with a depressed ledge to receive an earthenware cover, which is either plain or glazed. On the corpse being placed in its final resting-place, the cover was cemented to the coffin with lime-mortar. At the lower extremity, near the feet, is a semi-oval hole, doubtlessly intended for the escape of the condensed gases. Upon the upper surface of each coffin generally, and on the lid sometimes, are five rows of embossed small figures, which extend from the aperture to the foot. They are separated from each other by elevated ridges, plain or ornamental. The figures are all alike, and represent a warrior in short close-fitting tunic, and long loose nether-garments. He is armed with a short sword at the left side, and stands with his legs wide apart, and his hands resting on his

hips. On his head is an enormous coiffure, either natural or artificial, giving the figure a very singular appearance. The whole costume bears a remarkable resemblance to that we are acquainted with from the coins and sculptures of the Parthian and Sassanian period. The whole visible surface of the coffins is covered with a thick glazing of rich green enamel on the exterior, and of blue within the aperture: the latter was probably the original colour of the whole, but it has changed from chemical decomposition and long exposure. This enamel was applied when the coffins were placed in an erect position, as I ascertained from the droppings. The material of which the coffins are composed, is clay mixed with straw and half-baked. The upper and unglazed surface of the inside, as well as the bottom, is marked with the impressions of the reed-matting on which they rested during the progress of manufacture, similar to those observed on the under side of Babylonian bricks.

The above is a description of the generality of the Warkah coffins; but in some cases they are glazed, though without the figures,—in others perfectly plain without either glazing[27] or figures. One bore three figures in relief, which differed considerably from the

[27] Dr. Hyslop, of Baghdad, at my request, obtained the following native recipe for the manufacture of the glazed jugs and utensils at present made in many Eastern towns:—

"Take of pebble-stones and alkali, of each one pound; grind these ingredients to a very fine powder, which, fused in a well-heated furnace, will run to glass. When cold, grind it again to a fine powder, and add—for *green* glaze, oxide of copper one-fortieth part; for *blue* glaze, calcined lead one-fortieth part; for *white* glaze, calcined tin one-fortieth part. Temper the mixture with cold water, lay it on, and put the ware into a furnace to flux the mixture on it."

others. They represent females in short dresses, and carry a square box (?) in both hands. Upon their heads are large bushy wigs, confined with netting. A portion of this coffin is in the British Museum.

In one instance only did I observe two lids to one coffin. The glazed and figured specimen in the Museum was broken, and lay within the aperture. It was protected by another of unglazed pottery, raised in the centre and pierced with a hole, so that it exactly resembled the crust of a huge meat-pie.

By far the greater number of coffins are simply surrounded with earth, and lie without order, piled upon and near each other: they have no general direction. Others, however, are built up singly or two together, in brick vaults of somewhat peculiar construction, the roof being formed as shown in the accompanying Section. The bricks used in these vaults are always of the same description, about 8 inches square, of a light yellow colour, sandy, and slightly baked; on one side they are ridged and furrowed. They are cemented with lime-mortar; and it is worthy of notice that the lid of the coffin is closed with the same. From this, I conclude that the dead were brought to the coffin *in situ*, and there placed within it. The weight of the coffins, as well as their fragility, is opposed to their being carried with the dead inside.

The great depth (30 feet) at which I have observed these coffins, with or without vaults, is strongly opposed to their having been buried in the usual mode. It is generally supposed that the ancient Persians, at least the Sassanians, exposed their dead like their modern descendants the Parsees. I am therefore much inclined to believe that a kind of exposure was prac-

tised at Warkah; that the body was placed in the coffin and left on the surface of the mound. The sand-drifts, which I have already mentioned as being exceedingly dense and piercing, would rapidly cover it. In this way we can account, not only for the depth of the coffins, but also for the small layer of fine earth which intervenes between the vertical rows, and the irregular order of their deposition.

There was only one instance observed which appeared to contradict this view. One coffin was strongly cemented to one beneath it. The lower one actually passed through the top of a third and was cemented to it, the remains in the last being permitted to rest undisturbed. This may be accounted for by supposing that the lowest coffin gave way, from the superincumbent weight, when that above it was deposited, and that they were cemented together in that position.

The object of my second visit to Warkah was to collect a series of such antiquities as it afforded, and more especially to obtain one of the glazed coffins which might be sent to the British Museum. As the colour of those near the surface is affected by exposure, I tried to procure a good specimen from below; but, the deeper I dug, the more saturated with moisture and brittle they became, so that, the moment an attempt was made to move one, it fell to pieces. Finding it impossible to succeed at any depth, I came to the conclusion that the only chance for me was to try at the surface. As the Arabs were much more adept at digging with their spears and hands than with the spades which I had brought with me, I permitted them to follow their own mode of searching. Their cupidity is attracted by the treasures contained within

the coffins, to procure which many hundreds are broken and searched every year. Their method of proceeding is simple enough: they pierce the loose soil with their spears, until they chance to strike against some solid substance; by the vibration produced, the Arab knows at once whether he has hit upon a coffin or the vault containing one. The spear is then thrown aside, and, after the fashion of a mole, the wild fellow digs a hole with his hands. If an obstacle presents itself, the spear is again had recourse to, and in this manner perseverance secures the object of search. When the coffin is rifled, a hole is broken through the bottom to ascertain if there be one below. In riding or walking over the mounds considerable care is requisite on account of the innumerable holes made by the Arabs, who of course never take the trouble to fill them up again.

During every day of my stay several coffins were uncovered, and numerous expedients adopted to remove one unbroken; but, notwithstanding every precaution, they broke with their own weight. Pieces of carpet and Arab abbas were tied tightly round them, the earth inside was either partially or wholly removed, and poles were placed below to give support; all however to no purpose. Having broken about 100 coffins, I almost despaired of success. As a last resource I despatched a messenger to Semava, a small Arab town a day's journey distant, where he was fortunate in purchasing some strong paper. Another coffin was discovered in a tolerably good condition. Paper was pasted over it, inside and out, several layers thick: being left exposed to the air all night, it had become like a piece of pasteboard before morning. As much

earth was then removed from the under side as was deemed safe, two strong tent-poles were placed beneath, by means of which it was lifted upon a board, covered with the workmen's clothes, and carefully secured with ropes, etc.; fasces of spears and spades were then fastened to the board; and, upon this primitive bier, I saw the coffin conveyed to the banks of the Euphrates. It was not however without considerable anxiety that I superintended its progress across the desert. The ground was in parts exceedingly rugged, and the weight so great that it required twelve men, with frequent relief. I was kept in constant alarm lest any of them might trip, and destroy all the fruit of my labour. My satisfaction was great when I saw the burden safely deposited at my tent, nine miles distant from the ruins. The papering plan succeeded admirably, and I was subsequently able to secure two more in the same manner.[28] The three coffins are now in the British Museum.

When the cover remains unbroken in its place upon the aperture, it is frequently possible to see that the corpse was arranged as in Europe at the present day, except that the arms were bent and the hands placed upon the breast. The skeletons usually fell to pieces on exposure to the air, and were soon reduced to powder. In one instance, portions of a light-coloured garment, fine in texture, still adhered to the bones; in some places so thickly as to leave me in doubt whether it or they had not been soaked in some oily or waxy substance. If however cement was used, it

[28] They were afterwards embarked in a boat and conveyed 150 miles down the Euphrates to Busrah, where they were packed in cases and despatched to England.

cannot now be detected either by touch or smell. I endeavoured to preserve some of this garment, but, like the mouldering remains it partially covered, it fell to powder, and was dispersed by the breeze.

Inside or outside of every coffin are found small objects of considerable interest, the personal property of the deceased, or the parting gifts of friends. With the exception however of a few copper Parthian coins strewed in the earth close at hand, there has been nothing discovered which affords any clue to their date.[29]

The personal relics consist of gold rings with carbuncle-stones, and silver rings for the fingers; silver and brass armlets and bangles, with rings for the toes; necklaces of agate beads, small old cylinders; and, now and then, gold beads are not uncommon, as well as massive gold earrings and ornaments for fillets, some of which are exceedingly tasteful and elegant. Small pieces of thin gold-leaf, which appear to have been placed as veils over the face, frequently occur. Sometimes one or two narrow strips of thin gold lie on each side of the head. One of my workmen stated that he, on one occasion, found a massive pointed head-dress (perhaps a helmet) of the same material, which he melted down and sold to the Jews, who periodically visit the Arab tribes for the purpose of collecting antiques.

Deposited within the coffins are frequently objects

[29] I should not however omit to mention that a coffin was discovered at the depth of four feet below the flooring of the Parthian chamber previously described. It is of course impossible to say whether it was deposited in that position before or after the erection of the building, or even before or during the Parthian period. My impression is, that this mode of burial in "slipper-bath" coffins was in vogue long before that time.

of a different description: drinking-vessels, and dishes of pottery, glass bottles, boxes of wood joined with glue and bound or enclosed in iron, hideous bone idols, or more probably dolls, and rude clay figures of men and animals. Upon the skull in one coffin, of which the lid was broken, I obtained a single small copper coin: it may have fallen in with the earth; and much value must not be attached to this circumstance, as similar coins abound upon the surface of the mounds. They are flat on one side, and moulded with a slightly rounded protuberance on the other. The edges are generally sharp, and possess two little processes opposite to each other. The types are exceedingly indistinct, but sufficiently so to admit of their being identified as Parthian.

In addition to the above, a few other coins are found on the surface of the coffin-mounds.

Close to the side or foot of the coffin are generally one or more water-jugs and drinking-cups. A very beautiful glazed jug was found standing in a small recess left for its reception in the side wall of a vault, within arm's-length of the coffin. The bones of a fowl, together with a flint and steel, frequently lie on the top of the coffins. The custom of depositing such articles in these positions is undoubtedly connected with the superstitions of the period.

The surface of the coffin is often a receptacle for small relics, as the following list taken out of the same vault will show:—seven different forms of exceedingly fragile coloured glass bottles; two small and curiously formed yellow glass bottles; a glazed terra-cotta lamp; four bone stilettos; two small iron implements; the bones of a bird (small); fragments of a

bunch of flowers (!) and an ornamental reed-basket (the plaits of the reeds being quite distinct), containing two pieces of kohl, or black paint for the eyelids, and a tassel-bead: these articles probably belonged to a female.

Among other objects found near the coffins I may enumerate short iron swords, long alabaster bottles, jars containing remains of date-stones, plumb-leads (?) of clay, lamps of the same material, round stones rubbed into the form of rude cubes (probably weights), knife-blades, etc. etc., and several terra-cotta figures, which were probably the Penates of that time. Clay figures have already been described; but they undoubtedly belong to the Babylonian period, and are found at the base of the mounds. Of the rest a few are to be probably attributed to the Greeks, and these are of course much superior in point of design and execution. Two female heads are deserving particular notice: they possess the usual characteristics of the Greek face; the hair is arranged in long ringlets, and the lofty head-dresses are peculiar: upon the cheeks are traces of colour. To the Greek period may also be referred a small tablet bearing the representation of a sturdy figure, with a robe fastened by a brooch at the right shoulder, but flying loosely and leaving the rest of the body naked. On the legs are large ankle-rings. The head is broken off. He stands upon small rounded projections, and holds one in the left hand. This figure is probably intended for Hercules.

To the Parthians undoubtedly belong the figures of a reclining warrior holding a cup (?) in the left hand. The costume, consisting of a coat-of-mail or padded tunic, which reaches to the knees, and of a helmet

with an ornament in front, has a striking resemblance to that on Parthian coins.

The remainder of the figures are also, probably, Parthian:—naked Venuses, similar to those of the earliest period; a female attired in a loose robe, and a veil attached to a two-pointed head-dress; an old man and woman in long dresses, which exhibit traces of colour,—the female carries a square box or basket. Other figures have shoes with rosettes coloured black.

These figures are interesting, as affording some information on the ordinary costumes worn probably two thousand years ago.

HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION.

Among the relics of the latest date discovered at Warkah is an Himyaritic inscription. It occurs upon a rough limestone slab, 2 feet long, 1 foot 5 inches wide, and 4 inches thick, found at the entrance to a brick vaulted tomb, at the base of the same mound which yielded the sealed tablets of the Greek age.

The slab stood on end, having the inscribed surface within the tomb, which had been previously searched, and which measured 7½ feet by 4 feet.

The inscription is an epitaph to Hanat-asar, son of Esau, son of Hanat-asar, probably an Arab merchant, who died during the Sassanian Epoch about the fourth century after Christ.

The discovery of this record is of considerable in-

terest, inasmuch as it is the first of the kind which has yet been found in the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Among other heterogeneous articles found on the surface of the mounds or discovered in the trenches, but not apparently connected with the burial of the dead, may be mentioned:—

1. Arrow-heads of copper from the north portion of the ruins.

2. Serrated strips of obsidian and flint: they precisely resemble the sacrificial knives used by the ancient Mexicans.

3. A flat oval pebble, of dark green serpentine, from the conical mound north of the Buáríah. This pebble has been cut across the middle and sharpened like a wedge. It is not unlikely that it may have been used for writing cuneiform characters on tablets when the clay was in a soft state.

SHAT-EL-NÍL.

A city of such importance as Warkah has evidently been in the days of its prosperity, must have stood on or near the banks of some considerable stream. It was not until after a long search, that I succeeded in detecting the bed of an ancient river or large canal. It passes at a distance of 350 paces west of the Nuffayjí pile, and within thirty paces of a small conical mound[30] toward the most northerly point of the city wall. From thence it bears round the wall toward the east, and appears to divide into two branches; one proceeding towards Sinkara eastward, and the other continuing its course southward. I did not succeed in tracing

[30] L of the Plan.

either branch very far. Beyond Nuffayjí I traced it for several miles in a direction bearing 24° 30′ west of north. Near this mound its channel is 120 feet wide, and its level a few feet above the desert-level,[31] its banks being about five feet high. Traces of the secondary canals proceeding from it on the west are visible, eighty feet in width. At the point where it first meets the city wall, an opening probably admitted a branch or branches into the interior. If such were the case, all traces have long since been filled up by *débris* from the mounds and by drifted sand.

An intelligent old Arab, whom I interrogated on the subject, remembered that this channel was known to the fathers of the present generation as an "ancient river," and that it was called the "Níl." He had no knowledge as to whence it came or whither it flowed; he had never heard of the existence of a "Shat" of the same name further to the north.

At the period of the Arab conquest there was an ancient canal or branch of the Euphrates which passed the mound of Al Hymar at Babylon, and flowed south-east to the then existing city of Nílíah. It probably joined the Tigris near the mouth of the modern Shat-el-Hie. It is supposed that this main branch of the Níl gave off a large stream to Ziblíeh and Niffer (situated midway between the modern courses of the Euphrates and Tigris). Remains of this are still to be seen, and they are called the "Giant's Road." About two days' journey south-south-east of the last-named ruin I met with a considerable ancient river-bed

[31] Important rivers and canals in Babylonia flow in channels below the desert-level. In this case I believe the bed to have become filled up with sand.

called "Skaim." I am disposed to believe that Níl of Warkah is nothing but a continuation of the Skaim, the Giant's Road, and the Níl of Babylon. It is, at any rate, very remarkable that the name of Níl occurs at two such distant points as Babylon and Warkah; it implies a connection between them.

The term "Shat-el-Níl" indicates its importance: it is, I believe, the only ancient artificial canal (*nahr*) which has received the appellation of "Shat," or large river; and, as etymology offers no ready solution for the name Níl, it is probable that it was derived either from its being thought worthy of comparison with the Nile of Egypt, or else in commemoration of some important event in the intercourse between the Egyptian and Chaldæan nations.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion I feel that some apology and explanation are due for the unwonted length of this Memoir. I am aware that, in describing these remarkable ruins, many of the arguments which I have advanced are open to objection from want of requisite data: I have therefore thought it best to be somewhat prolix and tedious in details, rather than omit anything which might be considered useful in guiding the antiquary or the explorer towards a complete knowledge of the locality and its remains.

If there be a scarcity of early annals and of more positive information than could be desired, the fault must be assigned to the extraordinary difficulties which attend excavations at such an inaccessible spot as Warkah. The enormous quantity of brick rubbish within and around the temples, and the yielding na-

ture of the soil composing the mounds (apparently the result of continual sand-drifts), render it exceedingly dangerous to excavate to any great depth. I did not feel justified, on account of expense, to explore on a larger scale, nor would time admit of my doing so.

The results obtained are however by no means unimportant. We have ascertained,—

1. The existence of a new style of architecture, perfectly original, uninfluenced by the exalted taste of Greece, and, it is presumed, of much greater antiquity.

2. That there are remains at Warkah ranging from at least 2200 B.C. to about 400 A.D.

3. The site of a Necropolis, whose character and immense extent indicate the extraordinary sanctity attached to the locality for many centuries.

4. The different modes in which the dead were disposed of during the period above alluded to.

5. That cuneiform writing was practised as late as 200 B.C.

With regard to the glazed coffins so peculiar to Warkah, it is, I think, evident that the remains of the dead were not buried, but merely exposed with their sarcophagi on the surface of the mounds. This corresponds with the accounts handed down to us of the mode in which the later inhabitants of Persia disposed of their dead. We, have, however yet to learn whether they did more than merely adopt a custom which prevailed during the earlier ages of the Babylonians. Further researches in the Necropolis will probably throw much light on the ceremonies which attended the burial of the ancient people.

Now that we are fully assured of the existence of records in the cuneiform character during the Greek occupation of Babylonia, it is not too much to hope, as Colonel Rawlinson has happily remarked, that we may hereafter fall in with a cuneiform version of Alexander's campaigns: such a discovery would indeed be valuable.

If bilingual records in cuneiform and Greek are to be found, Warkah is undoubtedly one of the most likely localities in which to search for them. It is therefore desirable that particular attention should be devoted to the examination of those ruins at such time as excavations in Babylonia may be resumed.

There is no site, either in Babylonia or Assyria, which has hitherto afforded, or which will hereafter produce, information of such varied character, and concerning so many different races, as have occupied the site.

In order however to complete a thorough examination of Warkah, a sum of considerable amount would be required to be expended annually during a series of years.

Unlike the mounds of Assyria, where the palaces are buried at a comparatively shallow depth, the mass of mounds at Warkah require to be examined to their very base before the most important remains can be reached. These, occurring below an accumulation of more recent deposits, will undoubtedly yield information of the most valuable kind.

For the sake of science, it is therefore to be hoped that at some future period, not far distant, excavations will be resumed; and I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that Warkah will eventually yield re-

cords and relics of the utmost value to the antiquar and to the cuneiform student, and which will thro additional light, not only on the Babylonian and Pe sian, but also on the Greek and subsequent eras dow to near the time of Muhammed.

WM. KENNETT LOFTUS.

II.—NOTICE SUR UN MONUMENT DES CONQUÊTES DE PTOLÉMÉE ÉVERGÈTE I.

PAR FRANÇOIS LENORMANT.

(Read 28th February, 1855.)

Un des faits les plus extraordinaires de l'histoire des Lagides est, sans contredit, la conquête de l'Asie par Ptolémée Évergète I, qui renouvela un moment les exploits des antiques souverains de l'Égypte, des Sésostris, des Séthos et des Rhamsès. En quelques mots je rappellerai les principaux traits de cet événement, auquel les historiens modernes ont accordé trop peu d'attention.

Au mois d'octobre de l'année 247 avant J. C., par la mort de son père Ptolémée Philadelphe, Évergète devint le souverain d'un empire qui, outre l'Égypte, comprenait la Libye, une partie de la Syrie, la Phénicie, l'Arabie Pétrée, l'île de Cypre, la Lycie, la Carie, la Cilicie, les Cyclades et une partie des côtes de la Troglodytique. Cet empire avait été formé par les soins de son aïeul Soter, qui l'avait organisé avec une sagesse et une habileté incomparables, et les plans du fils de Lagus avaient été continués et accomplis

par Philadelphe. Évergète était à peine monté sur le trône que la guerre éclata entre lui et Séleucus II Callinicus, roi de Syrie.

Ce dernier prince, cédant aux suggestions de sa mère Laodice, première femme d'Antiochus Théos, peu après son avénement, fit égorger à Daphné Bérénice, seconde femme d'Antiochus et sœur de Ptolémée Évergète, avec le fils qu'elle avait eu du roi son mari.[1] Évergète, accouru au secours de sa sœur, arriva trop tard pour la sauver; mais il vengea sa mort d'une manière terrible. Profitant de l'indignation qu'excitait partout contre Séleucus l'assassinat de Bérénice, il soumit sans combat les états du roi de Syrie et s'avança ainsi jusqu'à l'Euphrate, toutes les villes venant se livrer d'elles-mêmes. Passant ensuite l'Euphrate, il parcourut en conquérant la Babylonie, la Susiane, la Perse, la Médie, et poussa jusque dans la Bactriane, détachée depuis peu du royaume des Séleucides; il aurait achevé de réunir sous son sceptre presque tout l'empire d'Alexandre, si des dissensions domestiques ne l'avaient rappelé en Égypte, où il ramena son armée chargée des dépouilles de l'Asie.

Ce n'est pas seulement par les historiens comme Justin, Appien,[2] et S. Jérôme que ces événements nous sont rapportés, ils sont encore attestés par un monument épigraphique; je veux parler de la grande et si importante inscription grecque copiée par Cosmas

[1] Justin, xxvii. 1. Hieronym. *ad Daniel.* 11.

[2] *De reb. Syriac.* 65. Catulle parle aussi des mêmes événements dans la traduction du poëme de Callimaque sur la chevelure de Bérénice (v. 11, 12):—

"Qua rex tempestate, novo auctus Hymenæo,
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios."

Indicopleustes[3] à Adulis dans la Troglodytique, et depuis tant de fois reproduite.[4] Les esprits les plus sceptiques ne peuvent donc élever aucun doute sur la réalité de ces conquêtes, qui présentent une grande analogie avec celles des Pharaons de la XIIe ou de la XVIIIe dynastie et celles que firent, dans le Moyen-Age, les souverains musulmans de l'Égypte.

On me permettra ici de citer ce que disait mon père dans son *Cours d'Histoire ancienne*[5] sur la facilité que la conquête de l'Asie occidentale a souvent offerte au souverain de l'Égypte, et sur les alternatives que présente dans l'histoire la domination de cette partie du monde ancien, tantôt par la puissance maîtresse de la Babylonie, tantôt par la puissance Égyptienne ; ces pages trouvent ici une application directe.

"La possession incontestée de la Babylonie par une puissance, ou guerrière elle-même, ou soutenue par de bons lieutenants, fait l'unité de l'Asie occidentale. Longtemps cette partie du monde n'a eu à redouter que la développement d'une puissance supérieure dans l'Occident. Par l'Occident il faut entendre ici deux choses très-distinctes, l'Égypte ou la puissance européenne.

"Quant à l'Égypte, le lecteur devra se rappeler ce que nous avons dit dans le premier chapitre de la conformité des ressources que présentent les bassins de l'Indus et du Nil, avec la puissance fécondante du sol arrosé par le Tigre et par l'Euphrate. Si la plus

[3] *Collect. nov. Part.* ed. Montfaucon, t. ii. p. 140.

[4] Leo Allatius, *Ptolemæi Evergetæ Monumentum Adulitanum* (Rom. 1631, 4°). Thévenot, *Relation de divers Voyages curieux* (Paris, 1666, t. 1). Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 73. *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, t. iii. p. 509, No. 5127 A.

[5] Page 82.

imposante barrière de déserts et de montagnes n'avait séparé l'Indus de la vallée du Tigre, le domaine de l'Asie occidentale n'aurait pu être si constamment au possesseur de cette dernière vallée. Il n'en est pas de même du Nil communiquant avec l'Euphrate par des chemins frayés dans un désert toujours accessible. Que la fortune mette l'Égypte aux mains d'un homme d'énergie, et le maître de Babylone devra se sentir bien fort lui-même, s'il espère résister à la conquête qui le menace. C'est ainsi que dès les époques les plus reculées, la loi de l'unité asiatique a été retardée dans son accomplissement. Un Sésostris à Thèbes, de même qu'un Saladin au Caire, n'ont point souffert que la Chaldée échappât à leur domination. Ce point de vue rend extrêmement curieuse pour l'historien l'étude comparative des révolutions du Caire et de Bagdad dans les temps modernes. Depuis que Touloun, lieutenant du Khalife au neuvième siècle, eût levé dans Fostat l'étendard de la révolte, ce fut entre les puissances de l'Euphrate et du Nil un véritable jeu de bascule politique, dont les oscillations ne furent interrompues que par les attaques d'un autre ennemi occidental, je veux dire la puissance européenne."

Le nouveau monument des conquêtes d'Évergète sur lequel je viens aujourd'hui appeler l'attention de la Société Royale de Littérature a été découvert par Champollion dans les ruines du petit temple au nord d'Esneh. Voici ce qu'en dit cet illustre savant dans ses *Lettres d'Égypte*:[6] "C'est aux mêmes divinités (Chnouphis, Neith et Haké) qu'était dédié le temple situé au nord d'Esneh, dans une magnifique plaine, jadis cultivée, mais aujourd'hui hérissée de broussailles

[6] Page 204.

qui nous déchirèrent les jambes, lorsque le 6 mars au soir nous allâmes le visiter, en faisant à pied une très-longue course du Nil aux ruines, que nous trouvâmes tout nouvellement dévastées. Ce temple n'est plus tel que la Commission d'Égypte l'a laissé; il n'en subsiste plus qu'une seule colonne, un petit pan de mur et le soubassement presque à fleur de terre. Parmi les bas-reliefs subsistants j'en ai trouvé un d'Évergète I et de Bérénice sa femme;[7] j'ai reconnu les légendes de Philopator sur la colonne,[8] celles d'Hadrien sur une partie d'architrave, et sur une autre, en hiéroglyphes tout à fait barbares, les noms des empereurs Antonin et Vérus. Le hasard m'a fait découvrir dans le soubassement extérieur de la partie gauche du temple, une série de captifs, representant des peuples vaincus (par Évergète I, selon toute apparence), et à l'aide des ongles de nos Arabes, qui fouillèrent vaillamment malgré les pierres et les plantes épineuses, je parvins à copier une dixaine des inscriptions onomastiques de peuples, gravées sur l'espèce de bouclier attaché à la poitrine des vaincus. Parmi les nations que le vainqueur se vante d'avoir subjuguées, j'ai lu les noms de l'*Arménie*, de la *Perse*, de la *Thrace*, et de la *Macédoine;* peut-être encore s'agit-il des victoires d'un empereur romain: je n'ai rien trouvé d'assez conservé aux environs pour éclaircir ce doute."

Champollion copia cette liste que je reproduis ici (f. 1–13) d'après ses papiers conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale; elle a été, au reste, déjà comprise par M. Champollion-Figeac dans l'imparfaite publication des *Notices descriptives des Monuments de*

[7] *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, t. ii., pl. cxlv. sext.
[8] *Ibid.*, pl. cxlv. sept.

l'Égypte et de la Nubie,[9] que l'on a donnée au public comme la reproduction exacte des notes de voyage de l'immortel fondateur de l'archéologie égyptienne.

L'opinion de Champollion, qui considérait cette liste comme celle des peuples asiatiques et européens vaincus par Ptolémée Évergète I, me paraît certaine. La plupart des noms sont trop modernes pour qu'on puisse y voir un monument des conquêtes de quelque Pharaon des antiques dynasties, et d'ailleurs la date du temple même sur les murs duquel cette liste a été trouvée s'y oppose invinciblement, puisque les parties les plus anciennes de ce temple sont de l'époque des Lagides. Quant à un empereur romain, il n'est pas non plus possible d'y songer. Quel serait celui qui aurait pu avoir même l'idée de marquer au nombre des pays conquis par ses armes la Macédoine et la Thrace, provinces assurées depuis longtemps à l'empire? Nous sommes donc obligés d'en revenir aux Lagides et aux trois premiers, car plus tard nous trouverions l'indication de la Syrie et de la Phénicie parmi les pays étrangers soumis par le vainqueur. Des trois premiers souverains de la dynastie, le plus conquérant, sans contredit, a été Évergète. Je ne m'arrête donc pas plus longtemps sur ce point, et je passe à l'examen des différents noms. On verra d'ailleurs dans cet examen combien tous les noms de notre liste concordent avec ce que nous savons des conquêtes du petit-fils de Soter.

Dès le début je suis arrêté par une difficulté que je renonce à résoudre pour le moment. Elle est relative au premier nom de la liste. Le premier caractère semble être *la panicule de roseau*, à laquelle les textes

[9] Page 185.

donnent la valeur d'une voyelle plutôt brève, et le second *l'espèce de pincette ou corde nouée aux deux bouts* ⊃. Nous aurions ainsi ⲁⲧⲛⲣⲉⲓ ou quelque chose d'approchant, mais cela ne répond à aucun nom connu de la géographie antique. Un peu plus loin, quand nous serons plus avancés dans ce travail et que nous aurons déjà pour nous appuyer des éleménts certains, nous proposerons peut-être quelques conjectures pour expliquer ce nom.

Le second mot a déjà été lu par Champollion : c'est le nom de la Perse (f. 14).[10] Je ne sais quel motif a porté M. Champollion-Figeac à ne placer ce nom que le troisième et à intercaler auparavant celui qui dans les manuscrits de Champollion est le dixième. En tous cas cette interversion n'a que bien peu d'importance.[11]

La Perse est mentionnée dans l'inscription d'Adulis (l. 17–19) au nombre des contrées soumises par Évergète : ΔΙΕΒΗ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΣΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΙΑΝ (*ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος*). S. Jérôme[12] nous apprend que ce

[10] Cf. *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160.

[11] Dans une suite de dessins envoyés d'Egypte en 1847 par M. Harris à la Société Royale de Littérature figure, numérotée comme Pl. IV, la copie d'un bas-relief de l'époque Romaine provenant de Denderah et représentant une suite de peuples étrangers, presque tous de la Haute-Asie, offrant des tributs à l'empereur. Ce bas-relief, dont je dois la connaissance à l'obligeante communication de M. S. Birch, est assez curieux à comparer à la liste des peuples vaincus d'Esneh, et nous y trouverons matière à plus d'un rapprochement pour ce travail. Nous y voyons la Perse, dont le nom est écrit presque comme ici (f. 15), offrant comme tribut une matière minérale dont M. Birch, dans son *Mémoire sur une inscription de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, traduit le nom (f. 16) par celui de *lapis*.

[12] *Ad Daniel*. 11.

prince rapporta de Perse les images des Dieux que Cambyse avait enlevées d'Égypte: "Simulacraque Deorum duo millia quingenta, in quibus erant quæ Cambyses capta Ægypto in Persas asportaverat;" et ce fait est encore attesté par l'inscription d'Adulis (l. 20–23): **ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΖΗΤΗΣΑΣ ΟΣΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ ΙΕΡΑ ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΕΞΗΧΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΚΟΜΙΣΑΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΣ ΓΑΖΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ.**

S. Jérôme ajoute que c'est pour cet exploit que Ptolémée III reçut de ses sujets le surnom d'Évergète: "Denique gens Ægyptiorum, quia post multos annos decs eorum retulerat, Evergeten eum appellavit." On a voulu rejeter ce témoignage comme méprisable, "car, a-t-on dit, les rois d'Égypte prenaient leur surnom en parvenant au trône."[13] Cette observation ne nous paraît pas exacte pour ce qui concerne les trois premiers Lagides; en effet ce n'est qu'en 303, c'est-à-dire trois ans après son avénement, que le premier des Ptolémées reçut des Rhodiens le surnom de *Σωτὴρ* pour avoir délivré leur ville assiégée par Démétrius Poliorcète.[14] Ce n'est aussi que deux ans après la mort de son père, six ans après avoir été associé au trône, que Ptolémée II, répudiant sa première femme, Arsinoé, fille de Lysimaque, et épousant sa propre sœur, prit le titre de *Φιλάδελφος*.[15] Le raisonnement pêche donc par la base, et nous croyons qu'il faut s'en tenir au témoignage de S. Jérôme. Le savant que nous avons cité aurait dû ne pas oublier dans cette occasion, comme le font trop souvent les archéologues, que quelques lignes d'un

[13] Champollion-Figeac, *Annales des Lagides*, t. ii. p. 49 en note.

[14] Diod. Sic. xx. 100.

[15] Schol. in Theocrit. xvii. 125; Pausan. i. 7.

auteur ancien, quand aucun monument positif ne les contredit, ont plus d'importance pour la connaissance des événements de l'antiquité que bien des longues pages des modernes.

D'ailleurs ici le témoignage des monuments est d'accord avec celui de S. Jérôme. Nous connaissons deux inscriptions qui doivent avoir été exécutées dans les premières années du règne d'Évergète; l'une est peut-être antérieure à son expédition, l'autre doit être de très-peu postérieure à ses conquêtes, qu'elle célèbre; or ni dans l'une ni dans l'autre nous ne voyons apparaître le surnom d'*Εὐεργέτης*, qui, même lors de l'exécution de la seconde, n'avait pas été introduit dans les actes publics.[16] La première inscription est celle de la lame d'or de Canope, déjà tant de fois publiée :[17]

ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟϹ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡϹΙΝΟΗϹ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑϹΙΛΙϹϹΑ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ Η ΑΔΕΛΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΕΜΕΝΟϹ ΟϹΙΡΕΙ

La seconde est l'inscription d'Adulis, qui débute ainsi :

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ.

Il semble même que le titre d'Évergète, qui, ainsi que nous l'apprend S. Jérôme, avait été décerné au

[16] C'est ce que M. Letronne a déjà fait remarquer, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de l'Égypte*, t. i. p. 5.

[17] Thédenat Duvent, *L'Égypte sous Mehemet-Ali*, pp. 16–18. Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire l'Égypte*, p. 5 et seqq.; *Insc. Gr. et Lat. de l'Ég.*, t. i. p. 2 et pl. V a. Franz, *Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ*, p. 218. *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcorum*, n° 4694.

roi par la population égyptienne, ne fut, durant tout son règne, employé que par cette population et ne passa jamais dans le protocole grec officiel. En effet, tandis que les monuments hiéroglyphiques et les formules des contrats démotiques du règne de Ptolémée III portent toujours après son nom le titre correspondant à celui de *Θεὸς Εὐεργέτης* (f. 17), les seuls monuments grecs de ce règne d'un caractère officiel qui soient parvenus jusqu'à nous, avec les deux inscriptions que nous venons de citer, je veux dire les monnaies, ne nous le présentent jamais. Non seulement le tétradrachme d'argent du Musée Britannique frappé dans la grande Oasis vers l'époque de l'avénement de Ptolémée III, et que j'ai publié dans mon *Essai sur le Classement des Monnaies d'argent des Lagides*,[18] porte la simple légende **ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, ce qui en aucun cas ne devrait nous étonner, puisque l'émission de cette pièce est sûrement antérieure à l'expédition de la Haute-Asie, mais encore les pièces d'or (tetrastatères et hémistatères asiatiques de 28·00 gr. et 3·50 gr.) portant au droit l'effigie radiée d'un Ptolémée assez âgé et au revers une double corne d'abondance,[19] monnaies qu'on attribuait autrefois à Ptolémée VIII, Soter II, mais qu'on a depuis reconnu avoir été frappées sous Évergète, à une époque déjà avancée de son règne ; ces pièces, dis-je, ne portent non plus jamais que les mots **ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**.[20] L'épi-

[18] Pl. V. n° 4, et p. 61.

[19] Mionnet, t. vi. p. 27. n°s 212, 213, *Supplément*, t. ix. p. 16, n°s 81, 82. Cf. *Essai sur le Classement des Monnaies d'argent des Lagides*, p. 5.

[20] Les monnaies de bronze à la légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (Mionnet, t. vi. pp. 25, 26, n°s 195, 206 ; *Supplément*, t. ix. p. 15. n°s 75–79), qui portent toutes des marques d'ateliers

thète de *Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται*, appliqué à Ptolémée III et à Bérénice sa femme, ne se serait donc introduit dans les protocoles grecs que sous le règne de Ptolémée Philopator dans les titres de ce roi, *fils des Dieux Evergètes*.

Revenons à la liste d'Esneh. Le troisième nom a aussi été lu par Champollion ; c'est celui de l'*Arménie*, qui n'est formellement mentionnée par aucun texte au nombre des conquêtes d'Évergète, mais qui est évidemment comprise dans *toute la contrée jusqu'à la Bactriane*, *τὴν λοιπὴν [γῆν] πᾶσαν ἕως Βακτριανῆς*, que ce roi soumit, d'après l'inscription d'Adulis (l. 19–20). On remarquera, sans doute, avec étonnement que le n d' *Ἀρμενία* n'est pas exprimé et que nous n'avons qu'ⲁⲣⲙⲉ (f. 23).[21] La copie de Champollion n'indique pourtant aucune trace de lacune entre le groupe f. 24 et les déterminatifs de l'idée de *région* (f. 25).[22]

d'Egypte ou de Cypre, ont depuis longtemps été restituées avec certitude à Ptolémée VII, Evergète II.

[21] On ne pourrait pas expliquer cela en supposant que l'hiérogrammate a voulu transcrire, non pas le grec *Ἀρμενία*, mais quelque forme orientale; en effet le son *n* est toujours essentiel dans le nom primitif et originaire, tel que nous le fournissent les inscriptions cunéiformes du premier système, *Armina*.

[22] Dans les sculptures romaines de Denderah découvertes par M. Harris nous ne voyons pas figurer le nom de l'Arménie, mais nous y trouvons les noms d'un certain nombre de ses parties, comme à Esneh sur la poitrine du septième prisonnier nous verrons celui de la Chorzène. Le troisième nom à Denderah (f. 18), ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲛ, doit être rapproché de celui de la Μωτηνὴ de Ptolémée, appelée Ὠτηνὴ par Étienne de Byzance et Pline (vi. 13), région située en Arménie entre le Cyrus et l'Araxe. M. Birch, dans une note de son beau travail *Sur la stèle de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, a rapproché le deuxième nom du même monument (f. 19) de celui de Tyr ; j'hésite un peu à admettre cette ingénieuse conjecture ; il me semble difficile qu'un em-

Le n° 4 est le nom de la Thrace, déjà reconnu par Champollion.[23] Nous lisons dans l'inscription d'Adulis (l. 15–16) : κυριεύσας δὲ . . . ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ

pereur romain ait fait représenter la ville de Tyr parmi les contrées étrangères qui rendent hommage à sa suzeraineté et viennent lui offrir des tributs ; sans compter que le nom de צר n'aurait probablement pas été transcrit avec un au commencement, mais plutôt avec un ou tout autre caractère représentant le son ⲭ, qui dans les transcriptions de noms phéniciens semble le plus souvent correspondre au ע. Si ces doutes paraissent fondés, je rappellerai que Tacite (*Ann.* xiv. 24) appelle *Taurantium* une région de l'Arménie : "In regionem Taurantium transgressus [Corbulo], improvisum periculum vitavit." Serait-ce le *Taurantium* de Tacite, situé entre Artaxate et Tigranocerte, qu'il faudrait reconnaître dans le ⲧⲁⲣⲣ de Denderah ?

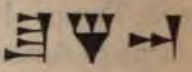
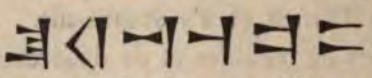
La présence de ces noms de parties de l'Arménie, surtout du second, me feraient assez volontiers croire que le bas-relief copié par M. Harris avait été exécuté à la suite des campagnes de Corbulon en Arménie sous le règne de Néron, campagnes racontées par Tacite dans le XIVe livre de ses *Annales*. Ce qui me porte d'autant plus à adopter cette opinion, c'est que nous trouvons encore sur le même monument les noms d'autres contrées parcourues par le général père de Domitia. Ainsi le sixième personnage d'après la grande légende s'appellerait ⲙⲉⲗⲧ (f. 20), et représenterait, par conséquent, la Mélitène, province de la petite Arménie ou de la Cappadoce séparée de la Grande Arménie par l'Euphrate. Il est vrai qu'entre la grande légende et le nom écrit au-dessus de la figure il y a une différence dont je ne me rends pas compte et que dans ce second endroit nous voyons le groupe suivant (f. 21), qui rappelle le nom de la ville de Ragé en Médie. On ne peut donc rien tirer de bien certain du nom de cette figure, mais nous voyons au-dessus de la quatrième le nom d'une région mentionnée déjà dans les textes pharaoniques (f. 22) ; ce nom, qui se lit ⲑⲱⲧⲏⲣ, désigne à mon avis le Taurus de la Haute-Mésopotamie ; mais cette identification réclamerait un temps et une place que je n'ai pas ici à ma disposition, et je la renvoie à un autre travail, où je développerai les raisons qui m'y amènent.

[23] Cf. *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160.

ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΧΩΡΑΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΣΩΝ. Aucun auteur classique ne parle de la conquête de la Thrace par Évergète, mais nous connaissons bien peu l'histoire de ce pays après la mort de Lysimaque. Nous savons seulement que ce dernier roi fut tué par Ptolémée Céraunus, fils de Lagus et frère de Soter, qui s'empara de son empire et à la succession duquel les Lagides durent prétendre. Ptolémée Céraunus périt au bout d'un an de règne dans un combat contre les Gaulois, qui faisaient alors leur première invasion dans la Grèce. Sa mort fut suivie en Macédoine et en Thrace d'une anarchie qui dura plus longtemps dans ce dernier pays que dans le premier, où Antigone Gonatas fit cesser les troubles en montant sur le trône en 277. Pendant ce temps, une partie des Gaulois entrait dans la Thrace et s'y établissait. Au bout de quelques années de troubles et de désordres, les envahisseurs s'organisèrent et fondèrent une monarchie qui ne fut pas de longue durée, et dont le premier souverain, Comontorius, était contemporain de Ptolémée Philopator.[24] C'est dans cette époque d'anarchie qui précéda le règne de Comontorius que se place la campagne d'Évergète en Thrace. Polybe[25] nous apprend qu'au moment où Philopator monta sur le trône, les rois d'Égypte possédaient Ænus, Maronée, et d'autres villes situées plus avant dans les terres, ce qui leur permettait de surveiller ce qui se passait dans la Thrace et la Macédoine : *Ἐφήδρευον δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ πράγμασι, τῶν κατ' Αἶνον καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ ποῤῥώτερον ἔτι πόλεων κυριεύοντες.* N'est-il pas permis de faire remonter à l'expédition d'Évergète la possession de ces villes dont nous ne trouvons au-

[24] Polyb. iv. 46. [25] *Id.* v. 34.

cune mention sous Soter et sous Philadelphe ? La prise de ces villes seules suffirait pour justifier la présence du nom de la Thrace dans les inscriptions officielles.

Le cinquième nom de la liste d'Esneh (f. 26) désigne très-probablement la Susiane, qui figure, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà vu, dans l'inscription d'Adulis à la ligne 18. La Bible écrit le nom de Suse שׁשׁן; je dois aux bienveillantes communications de mon savant ami M. J. Oppert la connaissance du nom de la même ville dans les écritures cunéiformes ; une inscription assyrienne découverte à Suse même par M. le colonel Williams nous fournit la forme  (*Schu-scha-an*), et sur les monuments copiés au même lieu par M. Loftus les rois de Susiane prennent le titre de *rois de*  (*Schu-schi-na-ak*).[26] Toutes ces formes sont bien voisines de notre coϫϣ ou cωϣ.

On remarquera le déterminatif de *l'homme agenouillé élevant les bras en signe d'adoration*, , qui accompagne ce nom. Celui qui vient après est aussi accompagné d'un déterminatif comme un véritable mot égyptien. Dans ces deux cas les hiérogrammates semblent avoir adopté, pour transcrire les mots étrangers à leur langue, le même procédé que les Grecs ont souvent employé pour la transcription des noms de beaucoup de localités de l'Égypte, c'est-à-dire qu'ils en ont légèrement altéré le son pour y trouver un sens admissible dans leur propre langue. Les Grecs ont de cette manière en Egypte fait de *Toph* (f. 31) Θῆβαι, de

[26] *Ak* est une forme génitive, d'après ce que m'a appris M. Oppert.

ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲡⲟⲥ *Κάνωπος*, d'*Aouari* *Ἡρώων-πόλις*, d'*Ibaschk* (f. 32) *Ὑπατον*, etc. Les Égyptiens eux aussi ont fréquemment fait usage du même procédé, dont il me serait facile de citer de nombreux exemples tirés des textes hiéroglyphiques. Le scribe auteur de l'inscription d'Esneh n'ayant trouvé dans sa langue que le mot ϣϫ, *clamare, invocare, adorare*, avec l'c préformante cϣϫ, qui lui parut présenter quelque rapport avec le nom de la Susiane, il en a fait *la terre de l'adoration* (f. 33), probablement à cause des fervents Maznasdiens que l'armée du monarque Lagide avait trouvés dans ce pays. L'emploi du verbe ϣϫ avec la préformante c, tel que nous le reconnaissons ici, n'est pas très-rare dans les textes hiéroglyphiques. Je n'en citerai que deux exemples ; nous lisons dans le *Rituel funéraire*[27] (f. 34) : " En invoquant le seigneur à toujours ;" nous trouvons encore à la ligne 7 de la grande stèle de Rhamsès XV à la Bibliothèque Impériale,[28] stèle dont M. Birch a donné une si intéressante traduction (f. 35) : " Il dit en adorant sa majesté."[29]

[27] *Todtenbuch*, chap. xv. col. 3.

[28] Prisse, pl. xxiv.

[29] Cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, t. iv. pl. cccii. : *ils disent en adorant sa majesté.* Le verbe ϣϫ dans le sens d'*invoquer, adorer*, mais sans l'c préformante, est déjà cité dans la *Grammaire Égyptienne* de Champollion, p. 368 (f. 27). On voit aussi dans le Rituel (*Todtenbuch*, chap. xxxiii. col. 2) la phrase suivante (f. 28) : "*tu invoqueras pour toi les ongles du chat mystérieux.*" Je ne recherche pas si un groupe composé des mêmes éléments phonétiques (f. 29) n'a pas dans certains exemples qu'on veut bien me citer (par exemple *Todtenbuch*, chap. xcix. col. 33) le sens de *manger, dévorer*, et ne correspond pas alors au mot qui n'est resté en copte que sous la forme réduplicative ϭϩⲟϫⲟϭϩⲟϫ, mais ici le sens que nous attachons au mot (f. 30) me semble rendu certain par l'ensemble du texte du chapitre. En voici la traduction

Puisque je suis sur le chapitre de ces noms auxquels les Égyptiens donnaient un sens en les transcrivant dans leur langue, sans pour cela en altérer le son à un certain degré, on me permettra de dire quelques mots du plus célèbre et du plus curieux de ces noms. Je veux parler du nom des Grecs tel qu'il est écrit sur la pierre de Rosette (f. 36), ou dans l'inscription de Philæ (f. 37). Champollion avait rapproché la première de ces transcriptions, la seule qu'il connut, du mot ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲏⲛ, qui dans les textes coptes désigne les Grecs ; et cette lecture remonte à ses premiers travaux, puisque nous la trouvons déjà dans la *Lettre à M. Dacier*. L'opinion de Champollion avait été universellement suivie par les égyptologues ; mais dernièrement, dans son beau *Mémoire sur l'Inscription d'Ahmès*, M. de Rougé, qui dans ses articles critiques sur la livre de M. Bunsen avait très-bien fait ressortir

complète : "*Voici le porc qui s'avance avec l'élan de Seb et de Méoui. Il s'attache à toi. Quand il sera pour te dévorer, le Rat maudit du Soleil, tu invoqueras pour toi les ongles du Chat mystérieux.*" Au chapitre xvii (col. 45–47) nous trouvons un long passage qui nous explique ce que c'est que ce Chat et ce Rat ; dans la vignette nous voyons un chat assis au pied du perséa (l'arbre de vie), tenant un serpent sous sa patte ; le texte s'exprime ainsi : "*Je suis ce grand chat qui était sur celui qui coupait l'arbre de vie dans son lieu de la région de Pooné, cette nuit du premier combat que l'on fit pour arrêter les impurs et ce jour de la prostration des ennemies de Nebsjar sous lui.* Explication : *Ce grand chat placé sur celui qui coupe l'arbre de vie dans son lieu de la région de Pooné, c'est ce Soleil lui-même, appelé Chat en termes mystérieux par assimilation, à cause du service qu'il a rendu et d'où lui vient ce nom de chat.*" J'emprunte ces traductions et celles des autres passages du Rituel que je cite dans ce mémoire aux travaux encore manuscrits de mon père sur ce texte si précieux, et à la traduction complète entreprise par lui, traduction dont il a communiqué de nombreux morceaux aux auditeurs de son cours d'Archéologie au Collége de France.

le sens allusif renfermé dans ce groupe, a voulu nier le rapprochement de Champollion et faire du nom des Grecs un nom purement symbolique sans rapport avec l' ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲏⲛ copte.[30] Pour moi, je dois avouer que les arguments de M. de Rougé ne m'ont pas entièrement convaincu, et j'oserai soumettre à ce savant égyptologue les doutes qui restent dans mon esprit et qui me font toujours pencher vers l'opinion de Champollion.

M. de Rougé nie d'abord que la *corbeille* , symbole ordinaire des idées de domination ou de totalité, ait jamais la valeur phonétique d'un ⲛ simple, et par conséquent qu'elle puisse l'exprimer ici. Il est vrai que Salvolini[31] a cité un exemple qui semble assez concluant, et dans lequel le mot ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ, *sauver*, au lieu de son orthographe habituelle (f. 38), est écrit (f. 39). "Mais," dit M. de Rougé, "cette variante, empruntée à un rituel dont l'écriture appartient aux dernières époques, ne peut pas servir de règle pour apprécier l'orthographe antique." Nous pouvons toutefois citer un second exemple du même genre, puisque M. de Rougé n'admet pas le premier, qui nous satisfait entièrement. Ce second exemple est emprunté au Papyrus Cadet de la Bibliothèque Impériale, dont on ne peut pas dire que l'écriture *appartient aux dernières époques;* nous y lisons dans la partie correspondante au chapitre 125, *a*, col. 12, du *Todtenbuch*,[32] le mot ⲛⲩⲫⲉ, *souffle*, écrit (f. 49) dans la phrase suivante (f. 50): "Afin que je sois ce maître des souffles qui vivifient par le nez tous les hommes." Il n'y a donc pas,

[30] *Mémoire sur l'Inscription d'Ahmès*, p. 43.

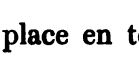
[31] *Alphabet hiéroglyphique*, D., No. 121.

[32] Expédition d'Egypte, *Antiquités*, t. ii. pl. lxxii. col. 38, 37.

à ce qu'il me semble, d'impossibilité absolue à l'emploi du signe pour l'expression du simple son n.

M. de Rougé rapproche avec beaucoup de raison un nom de peuple qui figure toujours dans les conquêtes des rois d'Égypte depuis Thoutmès III jusqu'à Rhamsès III (f. 43);[33] la variante du nom des Grecs dans l'inscription de Philæ prouve la justesse de ce rapprochement. Mais M. de Rougé en tire une conclusion que nous avons peine à admettre. "Il est aisé de se convaincre," dit-il, "que le nom est symbolique, et emprunté, avec une légère altération de sens, à un groupe antique, qui signifie 'les peuples du Nord,' littéralement 'les septentrionaux tous' (f. 51)." Il ajoute en note: "Le groupe commence, sur divers monuments, la liste des peuples vaincus." Ici, croyons-nous, la mémoire de M. de Rougé ne l'a pas très-bien servi; nous contestons que jamais dans les monuments de la XVIIIe et de la XIXe dynasties on trouve le nom avec à la suite du signe les deux caractères , déterminatifs des divisions de contrées, qui prouveraient que le *groupe de papyrus* doit avoir absolument le sens symbolique de *Nord*, et qu'on ne dit pas y chercher sa valeur phonétique de ; le nom est toujours écrit (f. 43), et non (f. 51). D'ailleurs il figure dans les listes des peuples comme un nom particulier, et non comme une désignation

[33] L'identité des deux noms est établie par un curieux passage d'une stèle Ptolémaïque de la collection de M. Harris à Alexandrie (Sharpe, *Eg. inscr.*, pl. lxxiii.—Prisse, *Mon. Égypt.*, pl. xxvi), qui m'a été signalé par M. Birch. Dans ce passage, qui se trouve à la ligne de la stèle, il est question d'un "sacrifice aux dieux grecs (f. 40), qui sont dans l'île de la mer (f. 41), dans le lieu de l'occident élevé en son nom à Racotis (f. 42)."

générale; c'est le groupe f. 53, qui désigne le plus souvent *les peuples du Nord*, comme  *les peuples du Midi*, et qui se place en tête des nations vaincues; mais f. 43 ne vient jamais qu'après et au nombre de ces nations, comme les *Schétos*, et comme bien d'autres encore, dont on ne fera pas des noms génériques.[34] Une opinion qui nous sourit beaucoup plus que celle de M. de Rougé consisterait à identifier comme lui le nom des Grecs à Rosette et à Philæ avec les (f. 43) des temps pharaoniques, mais à voir dans ces derniers les peuples de la race de *Javan*,

[34] L'exemple qui a pu faire penser que le nom (f. 43) était une appellation générale et non pas une dénomination particulière, se trouve à Karnak parmi les sculptures du portique des Bubastites. On y lit en effet devant la déesse Thèbes personnifiée, qui amène enchaînées toutes les nations vaincues par Scheschonk I (Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, t. iii. pl. cclxxviii), la légende suivante (f. 44), dans laquelle au premier abord le groupe 43 peut paraître signifier "tous les peuples du Nord." On doit très-probablement restituer la formule ordinaire *sous tes sandales*, et suppléer quelque chose comme f. 45. Nous aurions alors la phrase suivante: elle dit: "Je t'ai donné tous les terres, les femmes (cf. Herodot. ii. 102: Ὁτέων δὲ ἁμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηΐοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶησαν ἀνάλκιδες) des Pasteurs, les . . . sous tes sandales." Comme on le voit, le sens proposé par M. de Rougé serait assez naturel, mais à côté de la même figure on voit une autre légende ainsi conçue (f. 46): elle dit: "Je t'ai donné toutes les parties du monde, toutes les terres, les Pasteurs et les Nubiens." Dans cette seconde phrase, le groupe 43 de la précédente est remplacé par le nom des Nubiens (f. 47); ce doit donc, par analogie, être aussi un nom particulier de peuple, et non pas un nom générique. D'ailleurs l'inscription que nous avons citée accompagne la liste des conquêtes de Scheschonk, et dans cette liste nous trouvons un fragment de cartel qui a évidemment contenu le nom des (f. 43, 48) (Champollion, pl. cclxxxiv).

יָוָן,[35a] comme les appelle la Bible, les ancêtres des Ἴωνες, que les conquérants Égyptiens rencontraient avec les Schétos dans la région montagneuse au-dessus de la Mésopotamie. Dans ce cas il y aurait à le fois la valeur phonétique ⲓⲁⲩⲁⲛ et le sens allusif, *les maîtres du Nord ;* les hiérogrammates ont dû combiner ce groupe pour exprimer ainsi le nom de ce peuple et en même temps sa puissance guerrière, qui semble avoir été considérable, puisqu'on le trouve au nombre des ennemis les plus redoutables que les Égyptiens eussent à combattre en Asie.

M. de Rougé oppose à l'identification proposée par Champollion cette raison, que dans le mot copte ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁⲛ, et dans le groupe démotique de la pierre de Rosette (f. 54) qui y correspond parfaitement, on ne trouve aucune trace de l'aspiration douce ⲓ, que nous trouvons dans le commencement du mot, et à Rosette (f. 55), et à Philæ (f. 57). L'expérience des textes hiéroglyphiques fait voir le degré d'importance qu'il faut attacher à l'expression ou à la suppression du ⲓ : souvent dans le même texte on trouve le même mot avec ou sans cette aspiration ;[35b] nous ne devons donc

[35a] Je maintiens au mot יָוָן les points voyelles ; les inscriptions cunéiformes du second systême écrivant le nom des Grecs, *Ya-a-va-nu* (v. Oppert, Tableaux autographiés présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), prouvent l'exactitude de la tradition masorétique sur ce point, et l'antiquité de la prononciation *Iavan*. Il est bon de rapprocher un curieux passage d'Hésychius : Ἴαννα. Ἐν μὲν Αἰχμαλωτίσι Σοφοκλέους ἀπέδοσαν Ἑλληνική· ἐπεὶ Ἴαννας τοὺς Ἕλληνας λέγουσιν . . . Ἐπιεικῶς δὲ οἱ Βάρβαροι τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἴωνας λέγουσιν.

[35b] L'exemple le plus frappant de cet emploi facultatif de l'aspiration douce est dans la transcription hiéroglyphique du mot ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲓ, *manger*, qui tantôt exprime la voyelle initiale, et tantôt commence par le ⲓ.

pas être étonnés de trouver cette lettre supprimée dans le copte et dans le démotique, tandis qu'elle est exprimée dans la transcription hiéroglyphique. Nous opposerons à notre tour à la signification purement symbolique que veut voir ici M. de Rougé, la présence des voyelles (f. 58 ou f. 59) placées entre la *touffe de papyrus* et les *corbeilles* à Rosette et à Philæ. Je ne vois pas trop ce qu'on pourrait faire de ces voyelles si l'on ne reconnaissait pas dans le nom des Grecs un groupe phonétique. Il faut remarquer que dans l'inscription de Rosette, où l'on semble s'être moins préoccupé de carrer le groupe et de se rapprocher de l'orthographe antique, ces voyelles sont placées dans le même ordre que dans le copte (f. 58) ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲛ, ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲛⲛ, ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲉⲓⲉⲓⲛⲛ.

L'argument le plus grave de M. de Rougé contre la lecture phonétique du nom des Grecs est tiré de la différence qui existe entre la variante de la pierre de Rosette, qui ne répète la *corbeille* que deux fois (f. 55), et celle de l'inscription de Philæ, qui la répète trois fois (f. 57), de même que le mot des textes pharaoniques (f. 43). Si on considère la corbeille comme un ⲛ, la première variante donne bien les deux ⲛ du copte, mais la seconde en fournirait trois qu'on ne saurait trop comment expliquer. Cette objection est grave, mais elle n'est pas insurmontable. Je ferai remarquer d'abord, que le mot ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲛ, ou ϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲛ, tel que nous le fournit le texte hiéroglyphique de l'inscription de Rosette, a une physionomie bizarre ; sa termination en ⲛⲛ, que n'autorise ni le יִן de la Bible ni le *Ion* des auteurs classiques, rappelle d'une manière frappante les pluriels chaldaïques en *in*, et on ne peut guère considérer ce mot que comme une forme pluri-

elle sémitique de quelque primitif en ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙ ou ⲭⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙ. Cette opinion est rendue certaine par l'existence de la forme ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲙ, sans la finale ⲙ, dans la phrase suivante de la version Sahidique des Actes des Apôtres :[36] ⲛⲉϥϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥϯⲧⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲙ, "*loquebatur quoque et disputabat cum Græcis.*" Dans la variante du nom des Grecs de l'inscription de Philæ, ne pourrait-on pas considérer la *corbeille* trois fois répétée comme exprimant le son ⲛⲓⲏⲁ (ⲛⲓⲏⲁ, *omnis*), et reconnaître alors l'autre forme des pluriels sémitiques en *im?* On pourrait aussi voir dans la *corbeille* trois fois répétée l'analogue de la *ligne brisée de l'eau* ou du *petit vase arrondi*, autres signes servant à l'expression phonétique du son ⲛ, ecrits trois fois de suite (f. 72 ou f. 73), c'est-à-dire l'expression du son ⲛⲟⲩⲛ. Nous aurions dans ce cas la forme un peu plus sourde ⲭⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲛ, au lieu de ⲭⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙⲙ, forme qui conviendrait également bien à un pluriel, et ne serait que très-légèrement différente de celle qu'on connaît déjà dans les livres coptes.

La dernière preuve et la plus décisive en faveur de la lecture de Champollion me sera fournie par un monument confié à la garde de M. de Rougé lui-même. Je veux parler du fragment d'un décret gravé sur granit noir dans les trois écritures comme celui de Rosette, mais appartenant au règne d'Évergète I,[37]

[36] ix. 29.—Woide, *Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Græci*, p. 128.

[37] M. de Rougé dans son *Catalogue* (p. 69 de la première édition) dit en parlant de cette stèle : "Quelques mots grecs déchiffrés par M. Letronne, et qui ne se trouvent pas dans l'inscription de Rosette, montrèrent à ce savant que ce n'était pas le même décret ; en effet on y distingue le cartouche d'une reine (Arsinoë)." Dans la seconde édition (p. 97) le savant conservateur du Musée Égyptien du Louvre

fragment qui après avoir longtemps servi de seuil à la mosquée *Djema Emir Kour* au Caire, fait aujourd'hui partie de la collection du Louvre, sous le n° C. 122. Malgré l'état de mutilation de ce texte on reconnaît encore très-clairement à la dernière ligne de la partie hiéroglyphique la prescription de graver le décret dans les trois écritures ; et dans cette phrase, le nom des Grecs, quoiqu'incomplet, étant écrit par la *partie inférieure du schent*, , au lieu de la *corbeille*, après le signe f. 74, est absolument phonétique et on ne peut y chercher ni sens symbolique, ni même de sens al-

marque ce nom d'un point de doute. Et il a bien raison de le faire, car au commencement de la ligne 25 nous voyons après une fracture les deux dernières lettres d'un cartouche qui ne peut convenir au nom d'Arsinoé (f. 60) ; dans la même ligne 25 nous voyons le même nom un peu plus complet (f. 61) ; enfin à la ligne 26 il ne manque plus que le ⲣ qui devait être représenté par la *bouche* (f. 62), pour avoir le cartouche complet de *Bérénice* (f. 69). Notre choix est fixé pour cette reine entre les trois Bérénice qui ont figuré sur le trône d'Égypte, Bérénice Soter, Bérénice Évergète et Bérénice Alexandre ; par un fragment de cartouche, prénom qu'on distingue encore au commencement de la ligne 11 (f. 64), c'est en effet le commencement du prénom bien connu de Ptolémée Évergète I (f. 65).

Une copie de cette inscription a été donnée dans les planches LIV et LV des *Excerpta hieroglyphica* de Burton, mais le texte démotique ne se trouve pas dans cette copie, qui n'est pas d'ailleurs toujours bien fidèle pour le texte hiéroglyphique.

[38] Je ferai remarquer aussi le manière insolite d'indiquer l'écriture démotique (f. 66), sous-entendu (f. 67). Dans l'inscription de Rosette (l. 14) cette écriture est désignée par les mots (f. 68) ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ ϣⲁⲓ qui correspondent tout-à-fait à l'expression grecque δημοτικὴ γραφή (ⲁϣⲁⲓ *multitudo*) ; dans l'inscription de Philæ on retrouve la même expression avec une variante orthographique peu importante et qui rapproche plus du copte (f. 69). M. Brugsch (*Grammaire démotique*, p. 2) a signalé la forme qui sert dans les textes démotiques

lusif (f. 76) : " [*en*] *écriture des temples*, [*écriture*] *des actes*,[38] *écriture des Grecs*." [39]

Mais voilà une bien longue digression ; revenons à notre inscription d'Esneh. Le sixième nom (f. 77) rappelle d'une manière frappante celui des Sabéens, שׁבא. Ce peuple habitait l'Arabie heureuse le long de

eux-mêmes à désigner cette dernière tachygraphie des hiéroglyphes (f. 70) ⲥϧⲁⲓⲛⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙ ϫⲏⲙⲓ "*écriture des hommes de l'Égypte;*" ce nom correspond exactement à celui de la même écriture dans la partie grecque de l'inscription de Rosette, ἐγχώρια γράμματα. Dans le décret du Louvre nous avons une troisième expression. Clément d'Alexandrie désigne l'écriture démotique sous le nom de ἐπιστολογραφικὴ γραφή ; l'expression (f. 66) me semble tout-à-fait analogue ⲥϧⲁⲓⲛϣⲱⲧ "*écriture des actes,*" "*écriture commerciale*" (ϣⲱⲧ *negotiari ;* ⲙⲛϣⲁⲓⲧ *agora, forum*).

Le mot ϣⲱⲧ se retrouve dans le sens d'*acte*, de *lettre*, à la ligne 9 de la stèle de Rhamsès XV de la Bibliothèque Impériale (Prisse, pl. xxiv) (f. 71), "*Que ta Majesté ordonne qu'on lise la lettre sur l'examen qu'on a fait d'elle*" (de la Princesse Bandarondj, possédée par un esprit malfaisant). Dans le sens d'affaire, *negotium*, nous le voyons à la l. 11 de la même stèle et dans Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. II, pl. 128, exemple tiré du tombeau de Nevotph à Beni-Hassan.

[39] M. Lepsius a publié dans les *Monatsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin (Jul. 1855) un article *Ueber den Namen der Ionier auf den Ægyptischen Denkmälern*, dans lequel il arrive aux mêmes conclusions que nous, c'est-à-dire que le nom des Grecs ou Ioniens est phonétique, et dans les décrets ptolémaïques et dans les listes des peuples vaincus des temps pharaoniques. C'est pour nous une grande assurance de la justesse de notre explication que de nous trouver d'accord avec un savant tel que M. Lepsius. Nous aurions peut-être pu nous borner à renvoyer à son travail et retrancher ici toute la discussion relative au nom des *Iones ;* mais comme notre mémoire, composé en décembre 1854 et lu à la Société Royale de Littérature le 28 février 1855, était antérieur, par consequent, à la publication de M. Lepsius, et comme nous croyons avoir apporté des arguments nouveaux et décisifs à la question, nous nous sommes décidés à maintenir toute cette digression.

Dans le travail de M. Lepsius on remarquera surtout une histoire

la côte de la Mer Rouge: "Sabæi Arabum propter thura clarissimi, ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus. Oppida eorum in rubro littore Marane, Marma, Corolia, Sabatha; intus oppida Nascus, Cardarva, Carnus; et quo merus odorum deferunt, Tomala."[40] Droysen[41] a conclu avec beaucoup de sagacité que Ptolémée Évergète avait aussi dirigé des expéditions dans l'Arabie, d'après le passage suivant de Pline:[42] "Gadara appellatur rubri maris pæninsula ingens; hujus objectu efficitur sinus, xii dierum et noctium remigio enavigatum Ptolemæo regi," et notre monument confirme tout-à-fait sa conjecture. Droysen a cru trouver une autre mention de cette campagne d'Arabie dans la dernière ligne de l'inscription d'Adulis:—

ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΕΝ
ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΥΧΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΠΟ
ΤΑΜΩΝ.

Mais nous croyons que Franz[43] a eu raison de voir plutôt dans cette phrase, malheureusement mutilée, le commencement du récit de l'expédition sur les côtes d'Afrique dans laquelle furent fondés le port et le comptoir d'Adulis.

très-intéressante des mentions des (f. 43) et des 8 autres noms qui les accompagnent d'ordinaire sur les monuments pharaoniques. Voici la liste de ces mentions, d'après M. Lepsius:—Thoutmès III, tombeau d'un particulier à Thèbes. Amenophis II, tombeau à Thèbes (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, abth. III, pl. 63). Thoutmès IV (Wilkinson, *Mat. Hierogl.*, pl. viii.). Amenophis III, tombeau de Gournah (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, abth. III, pl. 76, 77). Sethos I, Rhamsès II, Rhamsès III, *passim*. Scheschonk I, Karnak (Champollion, t. iv. pl. 284).

[40] Plin. VI. 28. Cf. Diod. Sic. III. 47. Agatharchid. *Peripl.* p. 63. Steph. Byz. v. Σαβαί.

[41] *Hellen. Colon.*, p. 157. [42] ix. 2.

[43] *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, t. iii. p. 512.

Je trouve une mention des Sabéens à l'époque Pharaonique sous Rhamsès II, mention qu'il est assez curieux de rapprocher de celle de l'inscription d'Esneh à l'époque des Lagides. C'est aux col. 32 et 33 de la grande inscription d'Ibsamboul[44] que se trouve ce passage; les Sabéens (appelés, f. 83) semblent y figurer comme des auxiliaires venus du midi au secours des Égyptiens dans leur campagne en Mésopotamie contre les Schitos, l'an 5 de Rhamsès, au siége de (f. 84): Édesse, ainsi que l'a reconnu mon père. Voici le passage, malheureusement très-mutilé, d'où je tire cette conclusion (f. 85): "*Après cela, du midi, du pays de Schabou vinrent vers celui qui . . .*" et après la lacune il est question de *soldats d'infanterie* et de *cavalerie*. Dans la grande composition qu'accompagne cette inscription, nous voyons figurer les auxiliaires Sabéens avec des casques surmontés des figures du soleil et de la lune, dans un costume tout-à-fait analogue à celui des (f. 86) de Medinet-Abou.[45]

A Esneh le nom des Sabéens est accompagné d'un déterminatif qui mérite de nous arrêter quelques instants. Ce déterminatif n'est pas celui de la *corne* (f. 87), comme on pourrait le croire d'après la publication des *Notices descriptives;* c'est le déterminatif générique du *fétu de paille* (f. 88), qui désigne les idées d'*enlèvement*, d'*élévation*, de *mouvement en l'air*, de *vol*. Ce déterminatif, dont on doit l'observation à mon père, qui l'a signalé depuis quelques années dans ses cours, accompagne souvent le verbe ϥɛı, *ferre*, *au-*

[44] Champollion, t. i. pl. xxvii. Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 187.

[45] Champollion, t. iii. pl. cc. Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 209. C'est un peuple maritime (f. 78) et de race Arabe, que je serais assez tenté d'assimiler aux *Saraceni* des auteurs classiques (Ptol.; Plin. vi. 28).

ferre; nous lisons ainsi dans le Rituel[46] (f. 89) : "*Je n'ai rien enlevé à aucun dieu,*" et dans un autre endroit[47] (f. 90) : "*Ce dieu enlève les âmes.*" Nous le trouvons également à la suite du même verbe pris dans le sens tropique de *se glorifier, s'exalter*[48] (f. 91) : "*Je ne me suis pas exalté,*" mot à mot *non elatus sum.* Dans les inscriptions du tombeau de Nevotph à Beny-Hassan il est employé à la suite du verbe (f. 92) *voler* (ϕει *pulex;* χιϕει *saltare;* ϱλπλει *volare*), avec une légère variante dans sa forme, au lieu de (f. 93), au-dessus d'une peinture représentant un vol d'oiseaux.[49]

Le signe du *fétu* est aussi employé dans le tableau des constellations des tombeaux de Rhamsès VI[50] et de Rhamsès IX[51] à Biban-el-Molouk, pour déterminer le nom de la constellation de *l'hirondelle* (f. 94),[52] probablement à cause de la légèreté et de la rapidité du vol de cet oiseau. Il s'applique par extension à la fumée des parfums et aux parfums eux-mêmes dont la fumée s'élève vers les Dieux. M. de Rougé dans un article de l'*Athenæum Français*[53] a cité une curieuse va-

[46] *Todtenbuch,* chap. 125, b, col. 21.—Je crois toujours devoir maintenir au signe f. 79 la valeur de ϥ qui lui a été attribuée par Champollion. Les exemples contraires allégués par M. de Rougé ne me semblent pas décisifs, et au contraire la valeur de ϥ me semble prouvée d'une manière certaine par le mot f. 80, ϥοι *capillus.*

[47] *Todtenbuch,* chap. 17, col. 73. [48] *Ibid.,* chap. 125, b, col. 17.

[49] Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 130.

[50] Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 227 et 228.

[51] Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 228 bis.

[52] Le sens d'hirondelle donné à ce mot est suffisamment justifié par le titre du chapitre 86 du *Todtenbuch* qu'accompagne la figure de cet oiseau : *Chapitre de faire la transformation en hirondelle* (f. 81). Une espèce de pigeon portait le même nom (f. 82) : Champollion, t. iv. pl. cccix.

[53] Numéro du 3 novembre, 1855.

riante du mot ϫⲟϥ *parfums*, dans laquelle le *fétu* ser d'initiale (f. 95).[54] C'est cette acception dont nous croyons reconnaître l'emploi dans le nom des Sabéens. Si on se souvient que la richesse de ce peuple et toute sa célébrité était dûe à l'encens (" Sabæi Arabum propter thura clarissimi," dit Pline dans le passage que j'ai cité un peu plus haut), et si on remarque l'affinité du ϧ et de l'ⲟⲩ, on sera frappé du rapport qui existe entre ϫϧ ou ϫⲁϧ et le nom de l'encens chez les Égyptiens, ϫⲟⲩⲟ. F. 96 serait donc "*la terre de l'encens*," en même temps que le pays des Sabéens ; ce sens convient fort bien, à mon avis, et je crois qu'on peut l'adopter.

Le septième nom de la liste d'Esneh (f. 97) n'est pas difficile à identifier. La partie septentrionale de l'Arménie est appelée par Strabon[55] *Χορζηνή* ; Ptolémée[56] l'appelle *Κοταρζηνή*, mais ce nom est évidemment corrompu, car, à peu de distance de là[57] le même géographe mentionne la ville de *Χόρσα*, qui est sûrement la capitale de cette région. Le rapprochement du nom de ⲕⲣⲥⲟⲩ avec celui de la Chorzène et de la ville de Chorsa, me paraît certain, surtout quand nous avons par notre monument la preuve qu'Évergète avait étendu ses conquêtes dans l'Arménie, dont la Chorzène faisait partie.

Quant au huitième nom, son explication est plus difficile. F. 100 ne rappelle qu'un seul nom dans la géographie antique, celui de l'Arachosie. Dans le cas où on admettrait ce rapprochement, il faudrait reconnaître que l'c de la dernière syllabe a été retranché par l'hiérogrammate, comme plus haut l'ⲡ du mot

[54] La valeur de ⲭ du signe (f. 88) est fournie par le mot ⲭⲏ, *festuca*.

[55] XI. p. 363. [56] V. 13, 9. [57] V. 13, 12.

Armenia. L'Arachosie n'est pas mentionnée dans l'inscription d'Adulis, qui ne fait porter les armes d'Évergète vers l'est que jusqu'à la Susiane. Mais de ce côté, comme nous allons le voir aussi, vers le N.E., la liste d'Esneh atteste une plus grande extension des conquêtes du monarque Lagide.

Le neuvième nom est en partie effacé ; il n'en reste que la fin (f. 101). Ce ne peut point être la Gédrosie, dont la place aurait été fort bien à côté de l'Arachosie ; il n'y a pas assez de place pour les trois lettres que réclamerait ce nom.[58] En tous cas nous ferons remarquer tout d'abord que le peuple dont le nom était contenu dans le neuvième cartel devrait être plus barbare que les autres. C'est ce que semble démontrer cette circonstance particulière qu'au lieu d'avoir les simples déterminatifs de *région* (f. 102), comme tous les autres, ce pays est désigné par le déterminatif antique des contrées étrangères et barbares (f. 103), le signe de la *terre* avec le *doigt*, , symbole de colère et de vengeance.

Deux opinions se présentent maintenant à mon esprit pour expliquer ce nom. La première consisterait à restituer un ϣ et à retrouver par conséquent un nom que nous voyons absolument semblable dans les conquêtes des souverains de la XVIIIe dynastie (f. 104). Ce nom, qui doit signifier *les pasteurs*, ϣωϲ (τὸ δὲ Σῶς ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον[59]) comme les (f. 105) (ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲉ, *pascere*) de la même époque, aura été repris par les Égyptiens et appliqué à un

[58] A moins qu'on ne restitue (f. 98). Mais nous donnons la préférence à l'une ou à l'autre des conjectures que nous allons proposer.

[59] Maneth. ap. *Joseph. contr. Ap.* i. 14.

peuple asiatique qu'ils considéraient comme celui qu'avaient combattu leurs anciens souverains, de même qu'ils ont appliqué aux dominateurs grecs le nom antique des hommes de la race de *Iavan*.

Dans la seconde manière de voir, on attacherait une très-grande importance au douzième nom (f. 106). L'identification de ce dernier est certaine et a déjà été faite depuis longtemps ; les géographies anciens parlent presque tous de la tribu scythique des *Dahæ*, qui habitaient vers les bords de la Mer Caspienne, à côté des Massagètes.[60] On pourrait voir dans la f. 107 un autre peuple de race scythique, séparé des Dahæ par les Massagètes,[61] les *Sacæ*, dont la tribu principale habitait entre la Sogdiane à l'ouest, la Scythie propre au nord et à l'est, et la chaîne de l'Imaüs au sud,[62] mais dont un rameau descendait plus bas, au dire d'Isidore de Charax, entre l'Arie et l'Arachosie, dans la direction du Paropamisus, auprès d'Alexandrie, ville de cette dernière contrée.[63]

[60] Strab. xi. p. 352 ; Plin. vi. 17 ; Quint. Curt. vii. 4, viii. 1. Les *Dahæ* étaient connus des Égyptiens dès une époque très-reculée. Nous trouvons une mention du pays de (f. 99) dans la muraille de Karnak sous le règne de Thoutmès III (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xii. l. 4) ; sous Rhamsès II il en est question à la ligne 2 de la grande inscription d'Ibsamboul (Champollion, t. i. pl. xxxvii. ; Lepsius, abth. iii. pl. 187), et dans le papyrus Anastasi n° 2 du Musée Britannique (*Select Papyri*, pl. lxvii.) ; enfin sous Rhamsès III nous les voyons figurer dans les inscriptions du Palais de Médinet-Abou (Champollion, t. iii. pl. ccxix.).

[61] Diod. Sic. ii. 48 ; Strab. xi. p. 352. [62] Ptolem. vi. 13.

[63] Le nom de , *çaka*, dans les inscriptions cunéiformes du premier système, est le nom générique des Scythes (Rawlinson, *Insc. of Bisutun*, p. 197 ; Oppert, *Insc. des Achémén.* p. 33).

Il serait encore possible d'allier ces deux opinions et de croire que les Égyptiens ont identifié les Sacæ avec les (f. 108). Cette dernière explication serait de toutes celle qui me sourirait le plus. Je n'ai pas besoin de faire remarquer quels arguments puissants elle fournirait, si elle était démontrée, en faveur de l'opinion, toujours soutenue par mon père, de l'origine scythique des pasteurs qui envahirent l'Égypte, de ces ϣⲩⲥ dont les ϩⲏⲕϣⲱⲥ étaient les rois. En tout cas, il est certain que M. le docteur Hincks avait déjà reconnu dans les *Schasou* un peuple de race scythique, et que, d'après le passage des campagnes de Rhamsès II, cité par M. Birch,[64] le territoire de ce peuple devait être très-voisin de celui des *Tahai* ou Dahæ. Dans le papyrus Sallier n° 3[65] les *Schasou* sont énumérés parmi les peuples les plus considérables de la confédération des Schétos.[66]

[64] *Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, p. 14.

[65] *Select Papyri*, pl. xxv. Cf. Salvolini, *Campagne de Rhamsès le Grand*, pl. i. n° 1.

[66] Dans le bas-relief de Denderah, nous trouvons au-dessus de la sixième figure de peuple qui offre de la pierre dure (f. 109), un nom (f. 110) dans lequel je crois devoir reconnaître une désignation des peuples Scythiques en général. Nous y voyons aussi deux peuplades de la même race déjà connues à l'époque pharaonique, les (f. 111) et les (f. 112). Dans le premier de ces deux noms je crois, par l'identité du ϧ et de l'ⲟⲩ, retrouver la même nation que sous la XVIIIe dynastie est appelée (f. 113). Ce sont, ainsi que mon père l'a démontré dans ses Cours d'Archéologie, les *Abii* d'Homère (Iliad. N. v. 6), de Strabon (vii. p. 295), de Quinte Curce (vii. 6), de Ptolémée et d'Ammien Marcellin (xxiii. 25), tribu prééminente et sacrée chez les Scythes comme plus tard les Amales parmi les Goths. Dans la grande inscription d'Ibsamboul nous les voyons jouer le premier rôle parmi les Schétos ; à la ligne 17 les deux espions arrêtés et amenés devant le roi lui disent : " *Elle s'est levée la plaie de Schéto, ô roi modérateur de l'Égypte, pour une parole orgueilleuse aux* (f. 113) *pro-*

L'inscription d'Adulis nous avait bien appris qu'après avoir passé l'Euphrate, soumis la Mésopotamie, la Babylonie, la Susiane, la Perse et la Médie, Évergète avait poussé ses conquêtes jusque dans la Bactriane (l. 17–20):—ΔΙΕΒΗ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΣΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΛΟΙΠΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΤΡΙΑΝΗΣ ΥΦ ΕΑΥΤΩ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ. Mais ici encore, comme du côté de l'Arachosie, la liste d'Esneh recule plus loin les limites des peuples qui avaient reconnu pour un moment la suzeraineté du petit-fils de Soter. Nous avons trouvé la mention des Sacæ et des Dahæ, mais nous n'avons pas trouvé celle de la Bactriane. Faudrait-il introduire quelques corrections dans la copie du sommet du premier cartel? Au lieu d'un (f. 117), le signe initial pourrait-il être la *jambe* (f. 118) à moitié effacée? Serait-il permis, vu l'état de mutilation du monument, de considérer le fragment arrondi qui vient après la première lettre comme l'extrémité du signe 119 au lieu de la *pincette* (f. 120), et de changer le caractère f. 123 en ? On obtiendrait alors le nom de la Bactriane, écrit (f. 121).[67]

noncée par vous;" et plus loin, aux lignes 24 et 25, les chefs de l'état-major de Rhamsès, indignés du langage insolent des deux prisonniers, s'écrient: "*Périsse le pays de Schéto, et pour le défi des* (f. 113); *qu'il disparaisse de devant sa majesté forte par son activité, à cause du discours formant plainte venu de leur part.*"

[67] Dans les bas-reliefs de Denderah le nom de la Bactriane est certain; il est écrit sans f. 114, ce qui correspond tout-à-fait à la forme zende *Bâkhdi* ou *Bâghdhi* (Oppert, *Insc. des Achem.* p. 32). Les mêmes bas-reliefs renferment aussi le nom de l'Arie (f. 115), ou (f. 116), qui devait se trouver dans un des cartels détruits à Esneh.

Nous croyons pourtant cette conjecture trop hasardée, et nous préférons, dans le premier nom, conserver les signes f. 122, et nous borner à changer f. 123 en f. 124. Nous avons alors devant nous f. 125, dans lequel nous reconnaissons l'Aturie des anciens, province de l'Assyrie, entre le Lycus à l'est, les Gordyéens au nord, et le Tigre à l'ouest, région entièrement comprise dans le rayon des conquêtes d'Évergète.

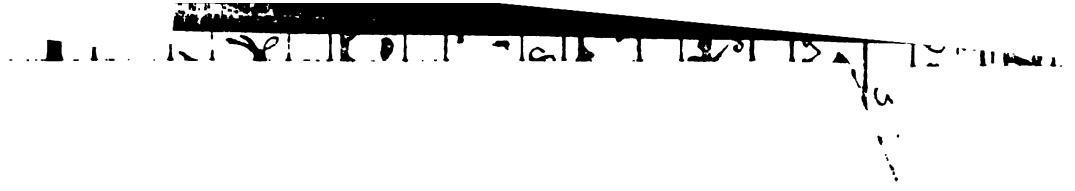
Champollion a déjà lu le dixième nom de la liste d'Esneh ; c'est celui de la *Macédoine*. Il n'est pas question de ce pays dans l'inscription d'Adulis, et l'histoire de la Macédoine à cette époque est trop bien connue pour qu'il nous soit possible d'en admettre une conquête par le roi d'Égypte, conquête dont la trace ne se trouverait pas dans les auteurs. Mais nous savons qu'Évergète prit parti dans les guerres des premiers temps de la Ligue Achéenne. Il se déclara pour Cléomène, roi de Lacédémone, contre Antigone Doson, roi de Macédoine. Quoique le secours qu'il apporta au premier de ces rois ne fût pas bien efficace et ne l'eût pas empêché d'être battu, cette circonstance suffit pour justifier la présence des Macédoniens sur un monument officiel au nombre des peuples vaincus par le monarque Lagide.

Je ne reparle pas du douzième nom, je l'ai expliqué tout à l'heure. Les onzième et treizième sont entièrement effacés.

La liste n'est pas complète, mais, comme on l'a vu, malgré son état de mutilation elle fournit encore quelques renseignements curieux, et nous obtenons le tableau suivant des conquêtes de Ptolémée III en Asie et en Europe, en mettant en comparaison le catalogue d'Esneh et l'inscription d'Adulis.

ESNEH.	ADULIS.
Campagnes d'Asie.	*Campagnes d'Asie.*
	Tout le pays de la Phénicie à l'Euphrate.
	Cilicie.
	Pamphylie.
	Ionie.
	Babylonie.
Aturie.	
Arménie.	
Chorzène.	
Perse.	Perse.
Susiane.	Susiane.
	Médie.
Arachosie.	
	Bactriane.
Sacæ.	
Dahæ.	
Campagnes d'Arabie.	
Saba.	
Campagnes d'Europe.	*Campagnes d'Europe.*
Thrace.	Thrace.
Macédoine.	

Dans l'un et dans l'autre monument tous les pays nommés appartiennent au (f. 126) *monde du Nord* des anciens Égyptiens. Par une fatalité inexplicable les même conquêtes manquent à Esneh et à Adulis ; et dans notre nouveau monument nous ne trouvons pas encore le moyen de remplir la lacune que rencontrent devant eux les historiens relativement aux guerres d'Évergète en Éthiopie, à la ruine du royaume de Méroé et à l'extinction de la dynastie des Ergamène et des Atarramoun. Dans l'inscription d'Adulis nous sommes certains qui la partie détruite contenait le récit



de ces guerres ; à Esneh il en était probablement de même.

Si notre monument laisse toujours dans l'obscurité cette partie de l'histoire du petit-fils de Soter, il n'est pourtant pas dépourvu de tout intérêt ; car il atteste de nouveau l'étendue des conquêtes passagères de Ptolémée Évergète I, corrigeant et complétant sur certains points les énoncés de l'inscription d'Adulis, et il jette de nouvelles lumières sur une partie de l'histoire pour laquelle nous ne possédons qu'un bien petit nombre de documents. On peut aussi en tirer, comme on l'a vu, quelques renseignements intéressants sur la géographie de l'Asie au IIIe siècle avant notre ère. C'est sous ces divers points de vue que j'ai jugé l'inscription d'Esneh encore digne d'attirer l'attention des savants.

François Lenormant.

Paris, 15 *Décembre*, 1854.

III.—SKETCHES OF KERTCH, ITS LARGER TUMULI, AND SOME OTHER REMAINS.

DRAWN AND DESCRIBED BY ROBERT THOMPSON, JUN., AND JOHN HOGG, ESQRS.

(Read November 26th, 1856.)

THE author of the five sketches which I have the pleasure of presenting to the Society is Mr. Robert Thompson, a Lieutenant in the 48th Regiment of the Madras Native Infantry, who, having obtained leave of absence from India, volunteered into the Anglo-Turkish service, and, obtaining a captaincy in the Ottoman Contingent, sailed for the Crimea soon after last Christmas: he arrived at Kertch in the beginning of the present year.

On his return home in July, Mr. Thompson showed me a sketch of the town of Kertch, and a section of the interior of a large Tumulus (Nos. II. and V.); and thinking them very interesting, I requested that he would kindly give me copies of them, with any illustrations and notes that he had, in order that I might lay them before this Society in his name.

The following pages present as accurate a description of them as I have been able, in a short time, to draw up; but, with more leisure, I might have com-

posed a Memoir more worthy of the attention of the Society, if I could have previously studied with greater care the beautiful plates and work of M. Dubois de Montpéreux, the splendidly executed illustrations entitled 'Antiquités Cimmériennes,'[1] recently published in Russian and French, the able work of M. Sabatier on Kertch and the Chronology of the Bosphorian Kings, and other late Russian authorities on this portion of the Crimea.

The first view is a representation of Kertch, taken from a sketch made from the bay, on March 24th, 1856. This drawing presents an outline of the principal part of the town, which stands in nearly the centre of a pretty but shallow bay. One of the chief objects which here attracts the eye is a church on the left-hand, having a Russian tower and elongated steeple. The high hill behind it is Mons Mithridates, or, as it still retains its Genoese appellation of 'Monte Mitridate.' A little to the right of the church, a noble stone staircase, or grand flight of steps, used before the war to lead up to a temple-like edifice, seen just behind the upper extremity of the steeple. This is the Museum, which, according to M. Sabatier, was a copy of the Temple of Theseus at Athens; in it, before the arrival of the Allied Army, were preserved many antiquities of value and of great interest, that had been discovered in the neighbourhood, and disinterred from the numerous tumuli, particularly from those called Koul-Oba and Altun-Obo. Above the Museum, on the summit of the hill, the flag-staff is

[1] Its proper title is 'Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Imperial de l'Ermitage,' 2 vols. folio, with folio Atlas, published by order of the Russian Emperor. St. Petersburg, 1854–5.

visible, and near to it stands a smaller building, or monument. Here was the citadel; and in all probability it marks the spot where the ancient Acropolis may have proudly stood for very many centuries. Further to the north-west is the modern Russian cemetery. Below the Museum, on the left of the sketch, is a long range of the large sepulchral *tumuli*, extending southwards in the distance. The imposing flight of stone stairs terminated in the town in a circle, or polygon, around which is an arcade; this in fact constitutes the market-place. The streets leading from this place are regular, and contain some good houses;[2] that conducting through the town into the Woronzoff road is nearly straight.

In front of the harbour, and close along the water, are erected large storehouses, depôts, guardhouses, and other noble and spacious edifices; whilst in the right corner, a small pier and landing-place, or port, are represented. Into this port however, the water being extremely shallow, no large steamer or vessel could enter. Beyond the south of the bay is Cape St. Paul, near to where formerly stood the battery Paulofskoi; at the northern point, called by the Tartars Ak Bûrûn, signifying "White nose," or Cape, a shoal extends into the Strait of Yenikalé (New Castle) to the east, and having rounded this Cape, Fort St. Paul succeeds on the south-west. Here is also a landing-place, where heavy vessels can put in close to the shore. Calca-

[2] Half a century ago, Dr. E. D. Clarke says (Travels, vol. i. chap. 18):—"The town of Kertchy is now reduced to extreme wretchedness and insignificance." And so it continued until about thirty years since, when it began to assume its new and beautiful condition. See also Captain Jones's Travels, vol. ii. p. 211.

reous cliffs, of the Tertiary period, constitute the coast-line here; but a salt-water pool or lake succeeds before the town is reached, and the rest of the bay is without any marked feature, and low. The Lazaretto, or Quarantine, stands on the opposite side of the bay, to the north-east; there the water is deeper, and there is proper shelter for the shipping. And near to that spot probably was the commodious dock or naval station mentioned by Strabo in these words:—*Πρὸς ἕω δ' ἔχει λιμένα, καὶ νεώρια, ὅσον τριάκοντα νεῶν.*[3]

The shallowness of the waters of Kertch Bay, at present said to be from 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ fathoms, has been stated by some to be caused by the rising of the land on that side, and the consequent receding of the sea. The true cause however seems to me to proceed from the current of the Strait of Yenikalé lodging on that side so much mud and silt, which have been brought down, during many ages, from the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azof. This alteration seems to have been taking place very rapidly during the last sixty years, because Professor Pallas calls the harbour, on his visit there in 1794, "a safe bay, with excellent anchorage, from 11 to 15 fathoms in depth."[4] It has consequently lost from 9 to $12\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms of water, or a *mean* of 11 fathoms nearly in that period, and thus averaging a fraction more than 13 inches in each year's deposit; but in this I am inclined to think there must be some mistake, notwithstanding the well-known accuracy of that able traveller. According to our Admiralty Chart of the Black Sea, published in 1853, the

[3] Strabo, Geograph. lib. vii.

[4] Pallas, 'Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire,' vol. ii. p. 276. English edition. London, 1803.

depth of the Sea of Azof, at the entrance of Kertch or Yenikalé Strait, is 4 fathoms; then off the Isle of Taman the strait has only 3 fathoms; thence to the entrance of the Black Sea it increases in depth from 6 to 9 fathoms. The channel, through the whole length of the strait, is kept open by the current descending from the Sea of Azof, and it does not appear to vary much in deepness at any particular season. The greatest depth of that sea, as given in the same chart, is only 7 fathoms; and this occurs about the centre of it. It has long been stated that the deposit of mud in the Sea of Azof has been rapidly accumulating, and that the depth of its waters has of late materially decreased; this however is not the fact, for Captain Jones, who, as belonging to the Royal Navy, would well understand the subject, says:[5]—"Upon strict inquiry at Taganrog, in 1823, I ascertained that there was *not* the slightest foundation for the favourite theory of the *diminution* of the waters of the Sea of Azof." Yet I think it can be proved that some slight *permanent* silting-up has taken place in the course of twenty centuries, from the following account recorded by the accurate historian Polybius. Describing the Mæotis, he writes, about 160 B.C.:—*Τὸ γάρ τοι πλεῖστον αὐτῆς μέρος, ἐν ἑπτὰ καὶ πέντε ὀργυιαῖς ἐστι*,—that is, "In *most parts* of it the depth is 7 or 5 fathoms."[6] Now, on examination of the Admiralty Chart, the depth *in most parts* of it would seem to be from 3 to 4 fathoms, thus making the *permanent* decrease to be only 2 or 3 fathoms and a very small fraction, since the time of Polybius, in a period exceeding two thousand years.

[5] Jones's Travels, vol. ii. p. 145.

[6] Polyb. Hist., lib. iv. p. 309: edit. Par. 1609.

At the present day the general aspect of the country in the vicinity of Kertch is treeless, bare, and steppe-like, arid and monotonous. In ancient days it was far otherwise, being most productive of corn. Strabo speaks of the district between Theodosia (Kaffa) and Panticapæum (Kertch) thus:—*Ἐστὶν εὔγαιος χώρα μέχρι Παντικαπαίου τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Βοσποριανῶν* (lib. vii.). He then adds, *Χώρα πᾶσα σιτοφόρος*, and so much fine corn did it once produce, that Athens itself was supplied with a vast quantity of it every year. This Demosthenes fully records in his 'Oration against Leptines;'[7] and in proof that the soil, which is deep and of a dark colour, is still by nature of an excellent quality and highly fertile, it may be remembered that some specimens of wheat brought to England from thence, and shown at the Great Exhibition, received a prize. Pliny also notices some imported shrubs, and several kinds of fine fruit-trees at Panticapæum in the following passage:—"Circa Bosporum Cimmerium, in Panticapæo urbe, omni modo laboravit Mithridates rex, et ceteri incolæ, sacrorum certe causa, laurum myrtumque habere; non contigit, cum teporis arbores abundent ibi, punicæ, ficique, jam mali et piri laudatissimæ." (Lib. xvi. cap. 32.)

The Map, No. I., will more fully point out the localities I have briefly described, and it will explain not only the immediate environs of the town of Kertch, but likewise the positions occupied by the Allied Forces; although not designed on any exact scale, it will be found sufficiently accurate.

Several travellers have of late years, and previous

[7] *Vide* Orat. Græc., Demosth. vol. i. tom. 2. p. 467: edit. Reiske. Leipz. 1770.

to the war which has just terminated, visited the Crimea, and have given to the world their travels; one of these is Dr. Charles Koch; and since his account of Kertch is very accurate, and fully describes the view of the town, No. II., I will here add some extracts from it, as published in his work, entitled 'The Crimea and Odessa.'

"Where Kertch now stands, several hundred years before the Christian era flourished Panticapæum, the royal metropolis of the Bosphorian sovereigns. The importance of this Grecian colony has been only recognized of late, and the opinion will gain ground the more we turn our attention to the remains still extant, a multitude of proofs from the earliest times having been recently discovered. The largest portion of the most valuable testimonies of that ancient period, chiefly found within the tombs, have been taken to St. Petersburg, and there placed in the (Palace of the) Hermitage."

"Kertch is situated close to the harbour, while the Panticapæum of Strabo was built upon a mound. The Acropolis was placed in front, almost in the centre, while the hill on which it stood extended to the south of the present town, and was connected with a ridge of inconsiderable elevation. We mounted the first height, by a splendid stone staircase,[8] on which the Museum is situated. It has a very good effect in the distance, with its columns, but unfortunately proper attention is not paid to the outside of the building, which is the more to be desired as, on account of its

[8] This staircase was one of the chief beauties of Kertch, according to M. Sabatier (*vide* 'Souvenirs de Kertsch,' p. 5). It was destroyed during the War.—*J. H.*

position, it is much exposed to the weather. Arrived at the summit, there is a most glorious prospect of the immediate neighbourhood."

"Towards the south, and looking inland, the heights themselves excluded all distant view, but northwards stretched an extensive grey steppe, hardly broken by ancient sepulchral mounds—*tumuli* or *kurgan*."

"A multitude of broken statues and mutilated sculptures lay in front of the building: the best were placed in the spacious hall within. . . . The material of some of the vases, which were more or less Etruscan in form, resembled (Berlin) porcelain. A particular kind of glass vessel also interested me, remarkable for its lightness. . . . Among the number of remains, the inscriptions, which were here set up (and most of which, if I am not mistaken) have been published in the 'Corpus Inscriptionum' of Böckh."[9]

"From the Museum I ascended the height in front, facing the sea, where the Acropolis might once have stood. But here we found very few traces of ancient masonry; on the contrary, the highest position is occupied by a small temple of the most modern period. This temple (or chapel) covers the sepulchre of a former governor of Kertch, named Stempkoffsky."

"The traces of masonry above mentioned are situated behind the temple which I have indicated. I was told that only a short time previously a tower stood here, and that the great Mithradates possessed a castle

[9] The inscriptions from Kertch are given in Böckh, vol. ii. pp. 148–156; in one the word Παντικαπαΐταν occurs. See also the 'Addenda' to the same volume, pp. 1001–1003. And all the Greek inscriptions are collected in the second half of vol. ii. 'Antiq. du Bosphore Cimmérien.'—*J. H.*

on this spot, from which he had addressed his assembled troops. The hill, on that account, is even now called the 'Mount Mithradates.' The rock of which the whole line of elevation is composed, is a very soft limestone, of the newest Tertiary period."

"Where Kertch now stands was undoubtedly a very ancient burial-ground. A multitude of barrows, so-called *tumuli*, extend chiefly towards the south-west, but most of them have been already so overturned by Genoese, Tartars, Turks, and Russians, that few exhibit their original arrangement. According to Dubois de Montpéreux, who has published an excellent description of them in his work,[10] the tombs were excavated from the soft limestone during the earliest Milesian period. It was not till afterwards that the chambers in which the coffins were placed were entirely closed by masonry, the stones of which however were not cemented by mortar, but were then covered in with earth, so as to form a conical hillock. One such barrow served usually as the burial-place of a whole family; probably it was built higher in proportion to the distinction of the owner."

"When we behold the multitude of barrows which extend for many leagues, and reflect that those belonging to the poorer classes, who were interred at less expense, must have disappeared in a short time, consequently that all barrows which are still discernible belonged to people of distinction, we must indeed be amazed at the opulence and wealth of ancient *Panticapæum*, the most northern colony of the Milesians. The mounds have been overturned century after cen-

[10] See 'Voyage autour du Caucase,' par F. Dubois de Montpéreux, 6 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1839–43, with its beautiful Atlas in folio.—*J. H.*

tury, to search for gold and silver or other precious objects; and yet, down to the latest times, coins, clasps, rings, and such articles, whose workmanship equally claims our admiration, are found here frequently."

"I was most interested in two *large barrows*, which undoubtedly owe their origin to *kings*, and afterwards enclosed their bones. The *largest* of these once contained the white marble coffin (*sarcophagus*) which I saw in the Museum, but it was greatly mutilated. On the cover were two gigantic figures, whose heads had however been broken off.[11] This mound might be about 100 feet high, but at the base it had a diameter of about 150 feet. A narrow and very lofty passage, about 65 feet long and 10 feet broad, conducted me to the inner square chamber, about 15 feet in diameter. On the upper part the corners were rounded off, but the whole inclined to a conical shape; the height might have been about 40 feet; and the walls no longer exhibited any traces of embellishment."[12]

The preceding account is highly satisfactory, and very clearly details the appearance of the town and its most extraordinary remains; namely, the multitudes of *Kúrgani*,[13] or ancient tumuli, which everywhere, especially on the east and south-west, present themselves to the eye of a stranger. To this I must add another short notice of these tumuli, as they were seen

[11] This beautiful sarcophagus was found on the spot where is the present Quarantine. See it represented in Dubois's Atlas, fig. 1, plate xxvi.—*J. H.*

[12] 'The Crimea and Odessa,' by Dr. Charles Koch, pp. 14, 19, 20, 21–23: English edit. London, 1855.

[13] According to Pallas, the Russians name the barrows of the Scythians, or Tartars, *Kúrgani*. They answer to our *cairns*.

in 1837, by M. Anatole de Demidoff.[14] Travelling from the south-west, he says: "As we approached Kertch, we came upon a tract covered with tumuli; nowhere previously had we seen them in such numbers. And, as though to add to the effect of this landscape, covered with conical mounds, the hills in the vicinity assume the same appearance;[15] they are covered with coralline rocks, forming a natural assemblage of elevations resembling *khourgans*. All these tumuli have been broken up and searched, and indeed there is something mournful in the disordered appearance they present, with the breaches in them still gaping open. The accurately-rounded lines of the khourgans, the only spectacle presented by the steppe, become at last pleasing to the eye of the traveller, as he accustoms himself to discover a certain harmony in the arrangement of these scattered cones, all children of one family. Is it not afflicting to see all these dilapidated tombs in the neighbourhood of Kertch, with their rounded tops knocked off, and presenting a sort of yawning crater, surrounded with crumbling fragments and whitish earth?"

And Dr. E. D. Clarke, half a century ago, passing between Yenikalé and Kertch, was so struck with the appearance of these kûrgans, or mounds, that he remarked, "The prodigious number of tumuli, which everywhere appeared, could only be compared to the nodules on the outside of a pine-apple."[16]

[14] Travels in Southern Russia and the Crimea during the year 1837 (London, 1853), vol. ii. p. 212.

[15] According to the recent investigations of Mr. R. Thompson, some of the *tops of these hills* are actually studded with *large tumuli*.—*J. H.*

[16] Travels, vol. i. p. 423.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell particularly on these remarkable

. . . . τάφων
Χώματα γαίας,[17] . . . .

or to describe at length the sepulchres of the ancient Scythians, since the clear account of them which Herodotus has left us is well known to all, and especially that which relates to the mode of burial of the kings of Scythia.[18] There is however one part which demands some attention; it is comprised in the following passage of the Greek historian: he says, after they have placed the corpse in the sepulchres (*θήκῃσι*), *ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα ῥιψὶ καταστεγάζουσι.*[19] The word *ῥιψὶ* here used has received different interpretations; but it is likely that it signifies only rushes (*scirpis*), water or marine grasses, or a species of a common aquatic weed: this receives confirmation from Dr. M'Pherson having found, in the sepulchres lately opened by him at Kertch, that the remains of the corpses were enveloped, or covered over, by a species of "seaweed." The same fact had before been noticed both by Pallas and Clarke; and it was also used in the earthy covering of the tumulus itself. The

[17] Eurip. Supplices, v. 53.

[18] The 'Literary Gazette' (for Oct. 4, 1856, p. 762) reports that "MM. Luzenko and Sueljeff have discovered in a hill (*kûrgan*) in the village of Alexandropol," in the Europæo-Russian province of Ecatherinoslav, "a catacomb of the Scythian kings. Countless treasures in works of art in gold, silver, bronze, iron, and fictile ware, have been brought to light. This" seems to "decide the existence and to fix the locality of the *Gerrhi*, and the necropolis of the Scythian kings mentioned by Herodotus." See Melp. cc. 20, 56, and 71.

[19] *Vide* Herod. iv. cap. 71.

latter author, describing the tumulus at Sennaia,[20] in the Island of Taman, states, "Immediately above the stonework, constructed for the vault of the sepulchre, appeared first a covering of earth, and then a *layer of seaweed.*" He likewise adds, "Pallas observed it placed in regular layers, with coarse earthenware vases;" and then he remarks, "What the use of this vegetable covering could be is very uncertain, but it is found in all the tombs of this country." Dr. Pallas, who was a most able botanist, identified this "seaweed" with the *Zostera marina*,[21] a plant common in salt-water ditches. It is vulgarly named *Grass-wrack*, and is much used in France for mats, bedding and thatch for houses, and it is chiefly valued for its great *durability*. So this may very probably afford a satisfactory reason, perhaps, too, coupled with some *local* superstition of its *continuing* efficacy, for the ancient use of it (seaweed—*scirpus*, or ῥιψ) in the sepulchres and tumuli of the Crimea and Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Then Herodotus concludes: "The people having so done,"—*χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἁμιλλεώμενοι, καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.*

And thus, indeed, the *Royal* tumuli may be easily discovered by their *greater* dimensions.

I do not know that any *purely* Scythian tumuli exist

[20] Dr. Clarke writes the word Sienna; but its correct name is Sennaia, or Sennaia-balka. He considers it to be the site of Cepæ, or Cepi Milesiorum of Pliny, vi. 6. Strabo, however, merely calls it Κῆπος, lib. xi. p. 722. The Phanagoria, or Φαναγορία of Strabo, corresponds with Taman; it was considered the capital of the Asiatic Bosphorani.

[21] Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 399: 4to edition.

now near Kertch, but I should scarcely think that any could be preserved after so many centuries; the more important and *larger*, which at this day remain, are those in which the Græco-Bosphorian kings, or their royal families, were interred. The Greek colonists, as was customary with that people, retaining in some degree the local and indigenous forms of sepulture, modified and adapted them to their own more usual habits and religious feelings. One of the most noted tumuli still existing, is that called by Dr. Clarke the pretended tomb of Mithradates,[22] but by the Tartars "Altyn Obo." It is distant about four versts to the west of Kertch, and has been opened since Clarke visited it.

This, being so remarkable a tumulus, is worthy of a fuller description. Dr. Clarke saw it more than half a century ago, and he thus mentions it:—"Its sides present that stupendous masonry which is seen in the walls of Tiryns, near Argos, where immense unshapen masses of stone are placed together without cement, according to their accidental forms. The western part is entire, although the others have fallen." He has given a good engraving of this conical mound; and adds, "The Tartars have tried in vain to effect a passage" into it; and he continues, "Yet they have a tradition that an entrance was once accomplished; and pretend to describe" (*accurately*, as it has since been proved) "the *interior*, as a magnificent *vaulted stone* chamber, formed by *enormous slabs*, which seem as if they would crush the spectator."

Also, M. Dubois de Montpéreux tells us that M. Karéicha, in the year 1832, effected an opening into

[22] Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 426.

it, by the assistance of thirty-five men, who laboured hard for fifteen days. He says the Tartars name it *Altun-Obo*, which he has translated by "Mont d'Or," or *Gold Mount;* and he describes it as a cone nearly 100 feet in height, and above 150 feet in diameter.[23] It differs from all the other tumuli in the immediate vicinity, from being walled from the top to the bottom, like a Cyclopean monument. The whole outside was originally encased with great blocks of Kertch limestone, three or four feet in size, irregular, and placed without cement or mortar. A long narrow passage, about ten feet high, led into the central or sepulchral chamber, the roof of which, he adds, was vaulted in the Egyptian style. A neatly drawn section is represented at fig. 1, pl. xviii., part iv., of his Atlas. And fig. 4, in the same plate, gives a section of another large Royal Kûrgan, called *Koul-Oba*, or "Ashes Hill," which is supposed by some to be that of Leucon. It is distant from the former about two versts, and situated on the south side of a ramification of the same range, to which the general Tartar name of "Gold Mountain" is applied. This range is prolonged in a north-west direction to the Sea of Azof. Its specific title was doubtless bestowed upon it because of the number of "gold ornaments," coins, and other valuable and beautiful relics, that were from time to time discovered within the numerous tumuli upon and adjoining to it.

Most of the remains which were preserved in the Kertch Museum before the arrival of the Allied Army, were taken out of those royal sepulchres; and many of them may be seen well engraved in the beautiful

[23] Dubois, 'Voyage,' vol. v. p. 188.

Atlas accompanying M. Dubois's 'Travels,' published under the auspices of the Russian Emperor in the year 1843. Those tumuli present a similar style of internal structure and of the earth-covered mound, to that which Mr. Thompson has drawn in his sketches Nos. IV. and V., although the sepulchral chamber, built with the like solid, irregular, or uncut stones (*ἀργοὶ λίθοι*), without cement, is in that of *Altun-Obo* much more lofty (fig. 1, pl. 18). Indeed the same *general* form and vaulted stone chamber are distinguishable in the tumulus already mentioned and figured by Clarke, as then remaining at Sennaia, in the Isle of Taman.

The latter drawing (No. V.) of Mr. Thompson's is extremely good, and it conveys an excellent idea of what Dr. Clarke has appropriately termed the "stupendous masonry" visible in the "walls of Tiryns." In fact, the style of architecture—evidently Cyclopean, solid, rude, and primeval—is such as is seen in those walls, and more particularly in the structure called the "Treasury of Atreus," at Mycenæ. Sir William Gell gave a section of the latter, in plate 4, of his 'Itinerary of Greece,' and a view of its large dome, in plate 6. This author writes:—its "dome is not composed of stones which form parts of the radii of a circle, as in an arch, but is constructed with *horizontal courses*, the inside of each stone being curved in such a manner that the whole has the appearance of a regular vault."[24] So likewise the following description of

[24] The Editor of Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm., tom. i. p. cxxxiii., observes, with respect to the mode of building the conical vault in the larger tumuli, near Kertch, "On est surpris à la vue de ce monument, qui offre des assises de pierres taillées en coin, comme celles

Pausanias[25] relative to the "Treasury of Minyas," at Orchomenus, clearly refers to a very similar edifice: *Λίθου μὲν εἴργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερές ἐστιν αὐτῷ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.* The primitive and Cyclopean style of building—so like that still remaining in Argolis—apparent in the construction of the *larger* tumuli near Kertch, induces me to consider them of *very early* date; and, if not *before*, certainly *not later* than, the time of the Archæanactidæ.

Another officer of the Madras Army, and also attached to the Turkish Contingent at Kertch, Dr. Duncan Macpherson, made known only three months since, at the late meeting of the British Association at Cheltenham, his successful researches in the vicinity of that place. I believe that I am correct in stating that these researches originated, in a great degree, with this Society; for at one of our Meetings, about eighteen months ago, three or four of us urged upon Colonel Dickson,—one of our active members,—who was going to Kertch in command of the artillery, to undertake excavations into the ancient tumuli and other remains near that town. Consequently our able Secretary, Mr. Vaux, was requested by us to draw up such notices of inquiry as might assist, and more readily invite the attention of Colonel Dickson and the officers under his command, and so save much useless expenditure of time and money in following up unnecessary in-

de la Voûte dite Romaine, mais posées *horizontalement en cercle*, que l'idée de dresser ce cercle et de le rendre perpendiculaire soit venue si tard." This is well seen in Mr. Thompson's drawing (No. V.), and is described by him in his explanation of No. IV.

[25] Lib. ix. cap. 38, § 2.

vestigations.[26] The names of Major Crease, R.E., and Captain Commerell, R.N., ought to be favourably mentioned as assisting in the same labours.

A report of Dr. Macpherson's paper is published in the 'Literary Gazette' for September 6th last; and many of the ancient remains which were procured from subterranean sepulchres near Kertch, such as gold, ivory, and other ornaments, beads, combs, terra-cotta lamps, coins, Greek fictile painted vases,—especially those lachrymatories ornamented with a diamond pattern,[27] beautiful glass vessels, amphoræ, a portion of dress, a bronze vessel, and some wood, etc.—are now to be seen in our National Museum.

These fully attest that the Russians themselves had by no means exhausted the ancient treasures of the original Grecian city; that most probably further excavations in the tumuli of the "Gold Mount" range would bring to light more important discoveries; they likewise prove to the world what British energy and zeal, directed with judicious care, can, in a very short time and under great disadvantages, effect.

Kertch, Kertsch, or Kertche,—which Pallas writes Kertsh, and Dr. E. D. Clarke, Kertchy,—signifies, according to the last, in the Tartar language, Circassia. Although I should rather say the Circassians were called formerly Cherkas, who were the Cercetæ or Κερκεται of Strabo; and they inhabited a district of Sarmatia Asiatica, subservient to the Bosporani, on the north of the Euxine, but south of the Caucasus.

[26] On the evening in which this paper was read, Colonel Dickson and Dr. Macpherson were present, and the latter gentleman stated that such were the facts.—*J. H.* (May 22nd, 1857).

[27] See these represented in Dubois's Atlas, plate ix. figs. 1 and 2.

Among the earliest inhabitants of that part of the Crimea were the Cimmerii and the Tauri, both Sarmatian or Scythian races. To these succeeded a mixed people called Tauro-Scythians. But the original Grecian city, which in all likelihood was erected on the remains of some Scythian habitations, in the centre of a delightful and capacious bay, was built, as is more correctly supposed, towards the close of the seventh century before Christ, by some Greek colonists from Miletus, and they named it *ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΟΝ*, Panticapæum, from the Scythian river *ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΗΣ*, Panticapes. According to Stephanus Byzantinus, Panticapæum was founded by a son of Æëtes (King of Colchis, which was south of Sarmatia Asiatica), who received the territory from Agaëtes, King of the Scythians, and named the city from the river Panticapes, which flowed past it.[28] It is not improbable that one of the two small rivers, which still exist, although at this day perhaps reduced in size, on the north of the town, was called Panticapes by some of the earlier Scythian inhabitants. On reference to Mr. Thompson's neat map (No. I), these two streams will be seen. One of them is named Melek Tchesmé, and flows through what was, before the War, the Public Garden, from west to east; and the other, which in the wet season becomes more of a river, although often dry in the summer, is called the Boulganak River, and it runs from the north nearly due south. The present town seems to be erected upon a part of its old site, and, in fact, to occupy some of the necropolis, or burial-place of the ancient city.

[28] Οἰκίσθη δὲ παρὰ Αἰήτου παιδὸς, λαβόντος τὸν τόπον παρὰ Ἀγαήτου τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, καὶ καλέσαντος τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραῤῥέοντος ποταμοῦ Παντικάπου.—*Steph. Byzant. S.V.*

Dr. Macpherson says, the Milesians "dedicated their new city to the sylvan god Pan; because of the abundance of the wine found, the worship of Bacchus became very general among them, and they called the chief city of this colony Panticapæum:"[29] to this I will merely object, that if the word had been derived from the god Pan, it would have been Panicapæum.

The head of Pan, no doubt, is seen upon many of the coins of Panticapæum; but this, probably taken from the first syllable of that name, is allusive, not only to the original Scythian inhabitants of the district, but also to the Scythian river Panticapes. That deity was certainly the most proper for a solely pastoral people, and one which dwelt in the steppes, among sheep and horses. On the reverses of some with that god, the word *ΠΑΝ* occurs, and on others, *ΠΑΝΤΙ*. And M. Anatole de Demidoff has, with some probability, observed that "the etymology of the name *Panticapæum* might seem to be the words *Panti* and *Kapos*, signifying, in the Dorian dialect, *everywhere* and *garden*."[30]

But we cannot, I think, receive this as correct; for the Milesians, who settled on this coast of the Tauric Chersonese, came from Ionia in Asia Minor, and would consequently speak the Ionic, and not the Doric dialect. On the contrary, I conceive that the name of the former city is simply of Scythian origin, it having been derived from the River Panticapes,[31] in Sarmatia or Scythia, to which the Greek termination of *αἷον*,

[29] See 'Literary Gazette,' for September 6, 1856, p. 668.

[30] 'Travels in S. Russia,' vol. ii. p. 238.

[31] See, as to this river, Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 26, and Herodotus, iv. cap. 54.

æum, was added, instead of the two last letters ης. The city itself, at a later period, was also not unfrequently known to the ancients under the appellation of Bosporus: it is so named by Demosthenes;[32] and Pliny expressly writes, "Panticapæum, quod aliqui Bosporum vocant."[33] And Dr. Clarke says, when he was there in the year 1800, "The natives of the Crimea still call the town of Kertchy, Vospor, although they write the word Bospor."[34] The Genoese named it sometimes Cerco, and sometimes Pantico. Again, the Scythian origin of Panticapæum is evidently further indicated from its emblem of the Griffin. Herodotus records[35] that the griffins, γρῦπες, inhabited the north of Scythia, beyond the Arimaspi, who were constantly at war with them. So Pausanias,[36] stating the same, describes them in these words: *Γρῦπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν εἰκασμένα, πτερὰ δὲ ἔχειν καὶ στόμα ἀετοῦ*,—"Griffins resembled lions, but they had the wings and beak of an eagle." That these fabulous animals were favourites with the Sarmatians or Scythians, will appear likewise from another passage of Herodotus, in which he mentions the noble palace of Scyles, King of Scythia, in Olbia, at the mouth of the Borysthenes, and then adds: "Around it griffins (sculptured) in white stone were placed,"—*Τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου γρῦπες ἕστασαν*

[32] Demosthenes speaks of *Λεύκωνα, τὸν ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου*, Orat. Græc. Demosth. vol. i. tom. 2. p. 466: edit. Reiske.

[33] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 24.

[34] Clarke, 'Travels,' vol. i. ch. 18. This has doubtless been taken from Pallas's work, which mentions (vol. ii. p. 275) that "Kertsh was formerly called Bosphor." The modern Greeks pronounce B as V.

[35] Lib. iii. 116, and iv. 13, 27.

[36] Lib. i. cap. 24.

(Melp. c. 79). Several of the coins of Panticapæum bear the figure either of the front half of a griffin, or of the entire monster. Indeed the figures of spirited griffins are seen on two gold coins of the best Greek period, which belonged to Panticapæum. They are delineated in plate 85, No. 1 and No. 2 of Antiq. du Bosp. Cim., and represent on their obverses griffins standing on a head of bearded wheat, with the letters *ΠΑΝ*, and on their reverses the heads of the god Pan. Also in plate 58, fig. 2, there is a very interesting drawing from a painted vase, which exhibits an Arimaspian on horseback, fighting with a griffin. And among the treasures discovered in the Koul-Oba tumulus, M. Dubois[37] describes a mitre or Persian bonnet, from the head of the king, that was ornamented with a golden band, upon which was well represented a row of griffins.[38] This recalls to my mind the beautiful frieze on the Temple of "Antoninus and Faustina," adjacent to the Forum at Rome; and these creatures were moreover similarly placed upon both, namely face to face.

As it has long been undecided among archæologists whether that Temple had been erected to Antoninus Pius and Faustina Senior, or to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Philosophus) and Faustina Junior, I think that the griffins sculptured on the frieze will determine that it was really dedicated to the latter. It seems to

[37] Vol. v. p. 198.

[38] See Dubois's Atlas, pl. xx. fig. 2. Another beautifully designed griffin is seen in pl. xxiv. fig. 4, from the same kûrgan. Also in pl. xxv. *b*. is represented a large griffin, painted yellow, with green wings, upon a wooden sarcophagus. And the Atlas of Antiq. du Bosp. Cim. exhibits griffins admirably delineated in fig. 2, pl. 13; in fig. 4, pl. 34; and in fig. 17, pl. 80.

me extremely probable that these monsters were emblematical of, or referred to, the conquests of the Emperor, M. Antoninus (Philosophus), about A.D. 176–8, over the Sarmatians. And we know, not only from an inscription preserved by Gruter (p. 260, No. 4), that that Emperor bore the title of Sarmaticus, but also from a brass coin, described by Admiral Smyth,[39] on the obverse of which are the letters "Sarm;" and on the reverse, in the exergue, the express words "De Sarmatis" occur. The Admiral states that it must have been struck A.D. 177; consequently the Temple in question must have been dedicated by the Senate (EX. S. C.), *after* the death, in A.D. 180, of that Emperor (who survived his wife Faustina for five years), since the existing inscription upon the portico commences with the word DIVO.

Before I present to the Society Mr. Robert Thompson's own "explanation" of his five drawings, it is better that I should here make a few observations upon two or three interesting subjects to which he alludes, than subjoin them as notes to those particular passages.

The first is the quantity of "broken earthenware," which he noticed on and near "Monte Mitridate," and which he states resembled "ancient wine-jars," or amphoræ.

A few days ago I showed to him the following form of a beautiful earthen amphora or diota (No. 1, on next page), which I copied from a vignette in Pallas's 'Travels,' and he informed me that those which he saw were not the same, but more like Nos. 2 and 3, especially the last, for their handles were more diver-

[39] Smyth's Descrip. Catal. p. 138, No. ccli.

gent, and of a more common shape. I regret that I had no opportunity, before Mr. Thompson left England for the Crimea, to request that he would search for the handles and necks of broken diotæ, and preserve all those on which any Greek letters appeared. Being aware that Pallas had mentioned some seen by himself in the Bosporic peninsula, and that more lately Mr. Stoddart, in his second able Memoir, published in our Transactions,[40] described several from Panticapæum (Kertch), it seemed to me almost certain that many others might be there met with. In fact, it is stated in the recent report[41] of Dr. Macpherson's Paper, that he had fortunately secured, from near Mons Mithridates, "several specimens of the handles of amphoræ, with the names of Greek magistrates stamped thereon." One of these earthenware diotæ I have just seen in the British Museum; though much broken, Dr. Macpherson has well restored it, and its elegant form is similar to that given in No. 1, only each handle was divided into two, or at least was deeply grooved down its entire length; this I have represented at No. 4. And as far as I could examine it, without turning it over, I could not discern any stamp or letters upon it.

No. 1. No. 2. No. 3.

No. 4.

[40] *Vide* Vol. IV. pp. 3, 39, 40, 46.

[41] In the Lit. Gazette, Sept. 6, p. 669.

Mr. Thompson further mentions, that he found the "crusted residue of wine in the bottom parts of the jars;" and Dr. Macpherson also says their interiors were "still incrusted with wine lees." From two epigraphs published by Mr. Stoddart,[42] which were found at or near Kertch, having the letters ΘΑΣΙ and ΣΙΩΝ stamped upon them, their Thasian origin is evidently denoted. It is therefore neither unreasonable nor uninteresting to conclude, that the "crust" and "lees" of the ancient wine visible within some of the diotæ, discovered within the larger or royal tumuli, may have been those of the famed, though strong Thasian,[43] of which Archestratus thus sang,—

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Θάσιος πίνειν γενναῖος, ἐάν γ' ᾖ
Πολλαῖς πρεσβεύων ἑτέρου περικαλλέσιν ὥραις,

and which Epilycus considered as a medicine, or strengthening draught, worthy, I conclude, of being prescribed by Æsculapius himself,—

Καὶ ἀντίδοτον καὶ ἔλχει Θάσιον.
Ὁ γὰρ λαβών μου καταφαγεῖν τὴν καρδίαν,
Ὅταν πίω τοῦτ', εὐθὺς ὑγιὴς γίγνομαι·
Ἀσκληπιὸς κατέβρεξε.[44]

And thus, indeed, the Bosphorian kings were interred

[42] Trans. Royal Soc. Lit. vol. iv. p. 39, 40.

[43] Epilycus stating that the Thasian wine should be strained—Θάσιος ἠθημένος—proves that it was a thick wine, and likely to deposit a crust or sediment.

[44] *Vide* Athenæi Deipnos., lib. i. s. 51. An ancient Temple of Æsculapius is supposed to have stood on or near the fort or citadel at Kertch, from a broken and large statue of that deity having been there dug up. And Strabo (lib. ii. cap. 1) distinctly mentions the "Temple of Æsculapius of the Panticapæans" thus, Ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ τῶν Παντικαπαιέων.

with some amphoræ of real, long-keeping, and long-sustaining "Thasian." These facts then afford "curious evidence," as Mr. Stoddart has written (p. 39), "that the wine of Thasos was exported to the extremities of the Euxine, and that it was highly prized in the kingdom of Bosphorus." And, without doubt, ships were employed in exporting it from Thasos in Thasian earthenware diotæ,[45] in the same manner, as the following line declares that they used to be, from the not far distant Isle of Lemnos,—

Νῆες δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι.

Again, as to the sepulchral "stone cases that were found in many of the cuttings." These, it would appear, consisted of five or six slabs of stone, so placed as to form a square box, in which the corpse was deposited: and they seem to be the same as the "square flags," described by Dr. Macpherson as "resting on each other in the centre, and supported by a niche in the side wall." Professor Pallas first observed them at Ovidiopol, and he adds, similar slab-tombs were found in the Crimea. No. 5 represents one which is engraven in vol. ii. of his 'Travels,' and noticed at p. 307.

No. 5.

Lastly, Mr. R. Thompson supposes that some of the larger tumuli were surrounded externally with

[45] See Inscription lv. for three epigraphs from the handles of perfect diotæ or amphoræ, which probably were made in Thasos, vol. ii. Antiq. du Bosph. Cim.

terraces, built of large and solid stones, filled up with broken stones and earth, somewhat after the manner exhibited in his drawing No. III., which however we cannot hesitate to pronounce as a work of modern times. He further observes that this terraced "formation was more visible on those tumuli which he visited, on the tops of the hills, marked E E on his Map." And in confirmation, at least in some degree, of this view, I may remark that the engraving in Dr. Clarke's 'Travels' (vol. i. p. 398), of a large ancient tumulus, which I have before mentioned, and which existed at Sennaia, probably the "Cepi Milesiorum" of Pliny, in the Isle of Taman (Phanagoria), presents the appearance of the remains of a terrace upon its side. The more ancient of the Sarmatian or Scythian tumuli were evidently, from the description of Herodotus, rough upon their outsides, formed indeed of soil, and unornamented with terraces. But some of the more modern tumuli, raised by the Greek colonists at a much later period, might nevertheless have been finished with one or more terraces constructed of large and hewn stones.

Mr. Thompson was not successful in procuring many coins; he only obtained four or five, and these were greatly worn. The impression of a brass one in wax I now present; it exhibits the profile of a Bosphorian sovereign, remarkable for the neck being elongated, and so apparently belonging to Sauromates II., about A.D. 15. Around it some Greek letters are indistinctly visible.

JOHN HOGG.

London, November 24, 1856.

EXPLANATION OF THE DRAWINGS.

No. I.

Rough sketch-map of the neighbourhood of Kertch and Fort St. Paul, showing the entrenched positions of the Allies during the winter of 1855–6, and until the proclamation of peace; also marking the general positions of the ancient Tumuli. (Drawn from memory, and not from actual survey.)

A.—Monte Mitridate, fortified as the citadel and alarm-post of the Allies.

B.—The Museum. The chief objects of interest were taken away by the Russians at the first approach of the Allies.

C.—Tumulus in a garden, described by drawing No. III.

D.—Large Tumulus in the middle of the plain between Kertch and Yenikalé, explained by drawings Nos. IV. and V.

E, E.—Large Tumuli on the tops of the hills, much dilapidated; also described by drawings Nos. IV. and V.

F.—Russian cemetery.

G.—Wooden pier, and landing-place for stores, etc. This could only be approached by small craft; in fact, the Bay of Kertch could only be entered by vessels of light draught.

H.—Landing-place at Fort St. Paul. Large vessels could approach close to this point, from which a shoal ran out in the direction of the Strait of Yenikalé.

I.—Sea-wall and road, broken and barricaded by the Allies.

K.—Wharf for the shipping of salt.

O marks the position of Tumuli.

No. II.

Sketch of Kertch, from the Bay. "Monte Mitridate" was the citadel and alarm-post of the Allies, and the Museum used as a reserve magazine. The "Monte Mitridate" appears to be mostly of natural, but perhaps partly of artificial, formation; as on all sides, and even on the summit, large masses of hard calcareous rock appear through the surface of the soil and rubbish. This latter prevails on the south and east sides, and appears to continue some distance along the southern side of the range of hills running westward, as shown on the map. This rubbish was generally of *lime*, and *broken brick* and *stone*; and in some parts of broken earthenware. The last generally

resembled what I have seen in collections as ancient wine-jars; and in several large pieces which I picked up, and which had been the bottom parts of the jars, I found the crusted residue of wine, sometimes in large quantities. Amongst this rubbish also, many coins and other antiquities were discovered; there was likewise a great deposit of bones, as well human as of different animals. In many of the cuttings made, stone *cases* were met with; not the usual sarcophagus, or stone *coffin*, cut from a solid piece of stone, but a *case* made of *slabs* of *stone*. I do not remember that anything was found in any of these cases; many of them were close to the surface, others some depth into the hill, and others again were noticed lower down the hill, even in the town of Kertch. No cutting of any depth was made into this hill; the deepest was effected in rear of the Museum, into a light-coloured clay, which was also mixed with broken earthenware, bones, etc.

No. III.

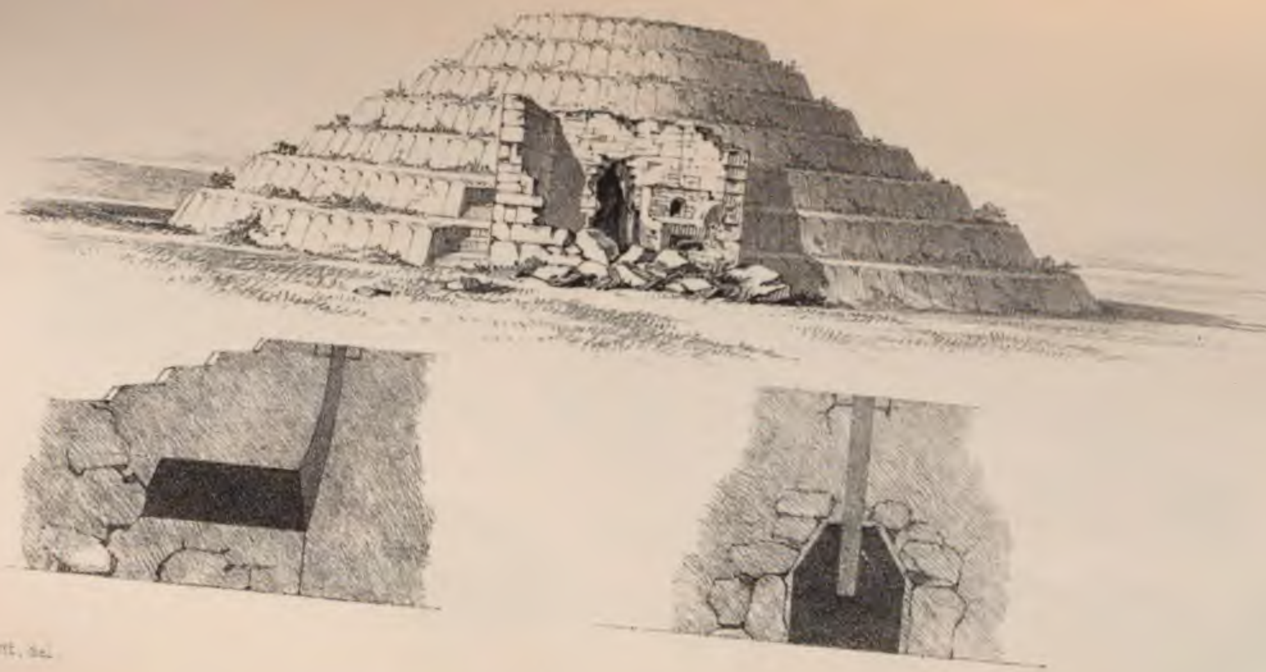
Sketch of the Tumulus, marked C on Map, with sections of the interior chamber. This Tumulus stands in what was a large garden, or vineyard; close to it also are a cottage and a large and very deep well; the whole is enclosed by a stone wall. This Tumulus is the smallest in which I saw a chamber, which is also of a different shape. The sections on the drawing, I believe, give the correct shape of this chamber, from which a shaft, or opening, passed upwards through the centre of the flat top of the Tumulus. The walls of the chamber were of a very hard, dark-coloured cement, over large rough stones. The entrance into it was much broken; so much so, that I could form no idea of its original shape; there had been some small chambers at the entrance, but these also were too much dilapidated to make anything of: on one side there were some ovens, or *Russian fireplaces*,* (*the Russian fireplaces in these parts resembling ovens.*) I am much inclined to doubt the *antiquity* of this Tumulus, at least in its present form; its ORIGINAL *may* have been *ancient*, as there were several other Tumuli not far from this one, of about the same size, but having no chamber, nor any stone terraces, left. The

* The small chambers with the oven-like fireplaces doubtless show that the entrance to this Tumulus had been used as a modern residence. So Dr. E. D. Clarke mentions a similar ancient Tumulus in the Isle of Taman, at a place called *Sennaia*, "in the cavity of which the post-house was actually scooped."—(Travels, vol. i. p. 396).—*J. H.*

No. 1
HATERLESS
VILLAGE
RUINS
W
S
N
E
KERTCH
BLAKE
BAY OF KERTCH
MAP
of the Neighbourhood of
KERTCH AND FORT St. PAUL,
showing positions of the Allies, Tumuli, &c.
CAPE St. PAUL
AN BURON
BOOKS
WRECK
TO TEMIRALE
Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

Thos. S. Scott, del.

KERTCH FROM THE BAY.

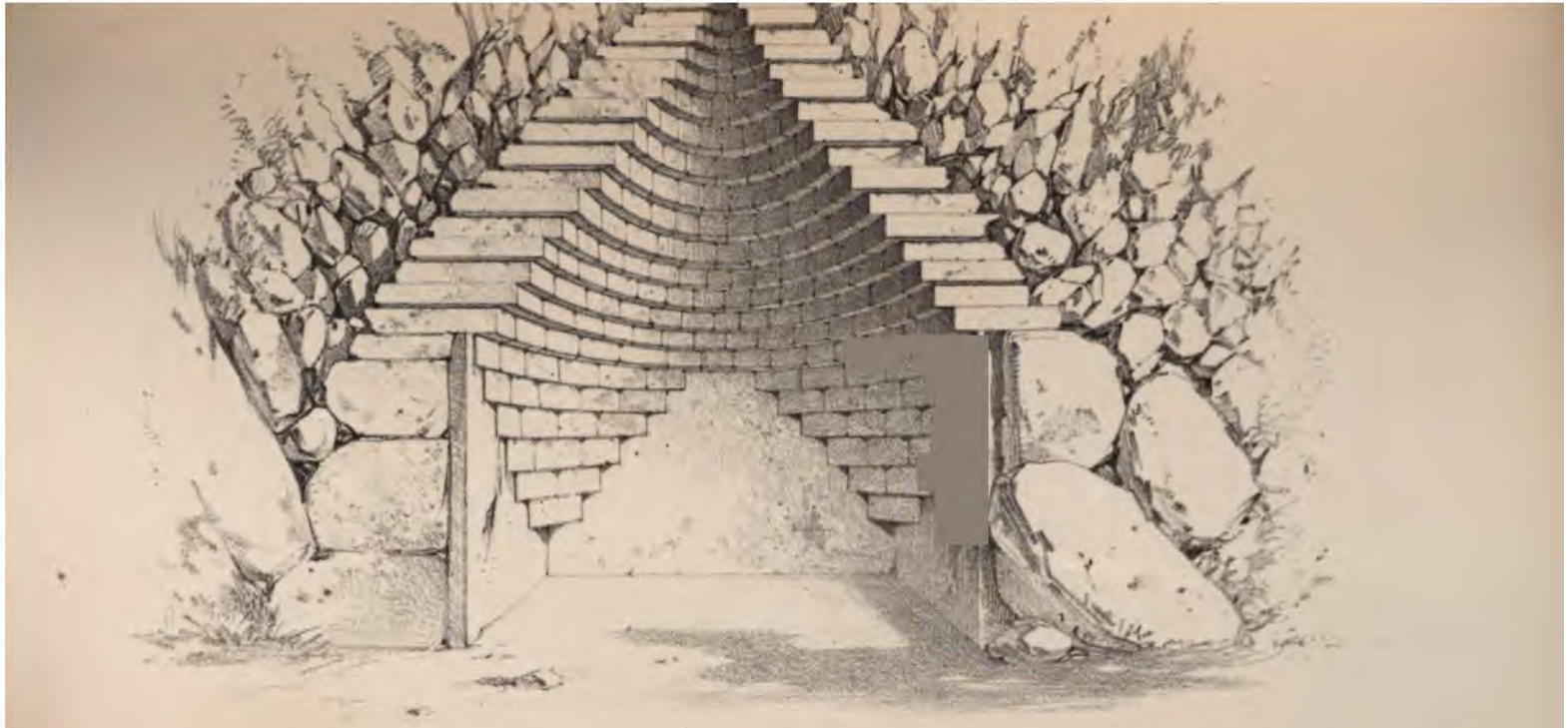


Thoˢ D. Scott, del.

TUMULUS _ marked C on Map.

Day & Son Lithʳˢ to The Queen.

TUMULUS _ marked D on Map



INTERIOR OF TUMULUS, marked Don Map

interior chamber of this is most likely part of the original Tumulus, though the exterior, and the chambers at the entrance, struck me as being decidedly *modern;* the stones forming the terraces being thin and easily displaced. I should therefore rather say, this, with the garden, was used as a pleasure-ground, or something of the kind, by the good inhabitants of Kertch, before they were disturbed from this delightful neighbourhood by the war.

No. IV.

The largest Tumulus on the plains. This was opened on several sides; the opening on the side which I have sketched struck the entrance into the interior chamber. This is the most perfect entrance that I saw, and it clearly shows the shape of the passage and doorway into the chamber. I rather believe the restored shape of the exterior formation of this tumulus consisted of *terraces*, being built of very large stones, filled in with earth. This formation was more visible on those Tumuli which I visited on the tops of the hills, marked on the map E E. The interior chamber of this Tumulus, D, was very perfect, and was square at the base, becoming gradually rounded, by cutting off the angles, gradually projecting the stones across the angles of those on the lower row. This was continued until the circle was formed; each tier, or row, of stones slightly projecting inwards, forming a smaller circle with every row, until a blunt cone was formed, as shown in the drawing No. V.

No. V.

This drawing is a section of the interior chambers of the larger Tumuli. It was most perfect in the Tumulus marked D, as before mentioned; but they were also sufficiently perfect in others which I visited on the tops of the hills, and which are marked E E on the map. These chambers, I should think, were about 12 or 15 feet square at the base, and above 20 feet high (*i. e.* to the top of the conical part). This I can merely state from a guess, as I unfortunately had no opportunity of measuring, or of taking more minute notes of, these interesting remains of antiquity.

ROBERT THOMPSON,
Lieutenant, 48th Regiment, M.N.I.

Stockton-on-Tees, October 31, 1856.

IV. — ON THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES BEQUEATHED BY SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY EDMUND OLDFIELD, ESQ., M.A.

(Read March 4th, 1857.)

An addition has lately been made to our National Collection of Antiquities, which, both from the intrinsic interest of the objects acquired and the circumstances of the acquisition, is not undeserving of notice in the Transactions of this Society. The late Honourable Sir William Temple, for many years Her Majesty's Minister at the Neapolitan Court, availed himself of advantages in position, wealth, and leisure, in themselves rarely combined, and still more rarely employed with such uniform liberality and taste, to bring together examples from almost every class of the monuments of ancient art dispersed over Central and Southern Italy. This collection, arranged in three apartments of the Palazzo Policastro, the official residence of the British Mission at Naples, was unreservedly shown by its owner to his many visitors,—to all with courtesy, and to the sympathetic few with unaffected pleasure. At his decease, in the summer of 1856, the collection passed, by his munificent be-

quest, to the British Museum; and as it will there, before long, be opened to public view, a short descriptive sketch of its contents may perhaps serve some of the present company as an introduction to a personal inspection.

With few exceptions, the antiquities are such as are found within the continental dominions of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Sir William Temple did not himself, like one of his most distinguished predecessors in the last century, engage in excavations; but his known zeal as a collector, and his liberality in remunerating all who brought him objects of interest, though only for inspection, secured for him to a considerable extent, though always within honourable limits, the benefit of the excavations of others. In order to give a clearer idea of the historical value of this collection, it may be useful to prefix a short notice of the principal sites on which the several antiquities were discovered.

1. The earliest remains of which the locality can be identified are from Nola, in Campania, and consist of several examples of fictile vases, of the style very generally known as Phœnician. To the same spot belong the specimens of the finest style of the ceramographic art, which mark what I shall presently distinguish as the third period of its development. Of late years no systematic excavations have been carried on at Nola; but in the last generation the Cavaliere Vivenzio obtained thence a magnificent collection of painted vases, including the celebrated *hydria*, or *calpis*, representing the "Last Night of Troy," which he sold to the Neapolitan Government for the unparalleled price of 8000 ducats, or about £1400. The earlier, or

so-called Phœnician class of vases, belongs to a period in which Nola, whether originally founded by the Etruscans, as Polybius and Velleius Paterculus represent, or only conquered by them from the Ausonian or Oscan aborigines, as is more consistent with the statement of Hecatæus, was, at all events, under Etruscan rule. The later class, which is purely Greek in style and inscriptions, appears, as a whole, not far distant from the supposed period of the Etruscan expulsion from Campania. If anterior to that event, it furnishes another example of the use of Greek pottery by the Etruscans, which has become familiar from the discoveries of Vulci and Tarquinii; if posterior, it may either be thought to confirm the somewhat doubtful story of a late colonization of Nola by the Chalcideans from Cumæ, or may be simply regarded as an illustration of that attachment of the Nolans to the Greek race, which, according to Dionysius, formed one of their characteristics. If immutability be a subject of pride, few cities can boast a higher pre-eminence than Nola. Though mentioned in the Oscan inscription of the Cippus Abellanus under the slightly modified form of "Nuvla," it has in all literature, through every age, been known only by its present name, without the variation of a letter; it still occupies its original site; and, except perhaps for a season after the ravages of Genseric, has never materially declined from its ancient importance.

2. Next perhaps in chronological order, as illustrated in the present collection, is S. Maria Maggiore, or S. Maria di Capua, a city which, under the name of Vulturnum, was the metropolis of Southern Etruria previously to B.C. 423. After the expulsion of the

Etruscan aristocracy in that year by their Samnite subjects, it was occupied, under the title of Capua, by a mixed Oscan and Greek population, whose prosperity, luxury, and political reverses are familiar to every historical student. By the favour of the Roman Emperors Capua flourished again in population and splendour, till devastated by the barbaric invasion of the fifth century. Ultimately its name passed to a city of medieval origin, at two miles' distance, on the site of the ancient Casilinum. Considerable discoveries of antiquities have of late been made in the neighbourhood of Santa Maria, partly in the construction of the railroad from Naples, and partly in excavations made by private enterprise. In 1847 was found the very interesting archaic bronze vase published by Signor Minervini in the '*Monumenti Inediti di Raffaelle Barone*' (p. 117, tav. A, B), which about two years since was acquired by the British Museum. A valuable collection of terra-cottas, both Greek and Roman, has likewise been formed from this neighbourhood by Signor Riccio, the well-known numismatist (recently elected an Honorary Member of this Society), which is now in course of publication in his '*Scavamenti del Suolo dell' Antica Capua.*' Gold ornaments of various styles, and of much beauty, have also been found, some of which are now in the Museo Borbonico, whilst others are, or very lately were, in private hands, awaiting an opportunity for sale. The principal objects from this locality in the Temple collection are some specimens of Greek painted vases with black figures on red grounds, belonging to the second period of the art, and all probably anterior to the Samnitic revolution; and some terra-cotta lamps and small figures, of the

Greek or early Roman time, with some vessels of the so-called Samian ware.

3. The third locality, important in archæology though insignificant in history, is Ruvo, formerly Rubi, in Apulia Peucetia, a city of which no more interesting record occurs in ancient literature than the passing notice of Horace, in his well-known journey to Brundusium,—

"Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus."

Yet, singularly enough, there is no spot in Southern Italy, with the exception possibly of Capua and Cumæ, which has yielded a richer produce of Greek artistic monuments than Ruvo. Its vases of the fourth, or florid period, may for size, decorative effect, and fulness of pictorial illustration, be pronounced unrivalled, except by a few of the same style from the neighbouring town of Canosa. The Signori Iatta, natives of Ruvo, happily uniting taste with wealth, formed, a few years since, in their own city, a splendid museum of local antiquities, peculiarly rich in these vases, as well as in *rhytons;* and the most interesting portion has been published by Signor Minervini in his '*Descrizione di alcuni vasi fittili della Collezione Iatta.*' The Temple collection includes several fine specimens of the Ruvo vases (though none of the very largest dimensions), with some Greek bronze armour, and equestrian accoutrements, not merely of much beauty, but in some respects altogether new.

4. Canosa, the ancient Canusium, in Apulia Daunia, about six miles from the plain of Cannæ, has also proved one of the most prolific mines of Greek antiquities. The most characteristic, and perhaps peculiar to this locality, are the late and somewhat fantastic

vases with unglazed polychrome paintings, and figures or heads in terra-cotta attached, of which two or three specimens will be found in the Temple collection. The remote situation of Canosa may perhaps explain, on the one hand, the lateness of the period at which it seems to have received the arts of Greece; and on the other, its retention of the Greek tongue, in concurrence with the Latin, down even to the age of Horace, who ridicules an orator for intermixing foreign with native idioms,—"Canusini more bilinguis." Although the majority of the Greek remains here discovered, which may be considered indigenous, are of a style probably not much anterior to this bilingual epoch, three most remarkable vases have recently been obtained from this soil, corresponding in character, and perhaps from the very same manufactory, with those productions of Ruvo which I have assigned to the fourth period of the ceramographic art. One of these is the great vase of Darius, a monument of which a short description, with woodcut outlines, has just been published in the '*Illustrated London News*' of February 14, and which, from its combination of various elements of interest, all in a high, and some in a unique degree, appears to me beyond dispute the most valuable relic of the art which has ever been brought to light. Much credit is due to the periodical which has had the enterprise and discrimination to procure for the English public some information as to this interesting monument; and it is in no unfriendly spirit that I point out two slight inaccuracies in the concluding sentence of the description. The vase is not, as the writer states, the "largest in the world;" for within a few yards of it, in the Museo Borbonico, stand six others from Ruvo

and Canosa, which all exceed it in size. The largest of these, which is from Ruvo, and is decorated in all with 154 figures, is 5 feet 9 inches in height; whilst the Darius vase, as I can vouch from my own measurement, is only 4 feet 7 inches. The statement that "it has never before been published" is also rather too broadly made, as a full and learned explanation of its paintings, by Signor Minervini, may be seen in the '*Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano*' for 1854; though it is no doubt true that the '*Illustrated London News*' has been the first to produce an engraving of it. Both at Canosa and Ruvo researches are from time to time continued, under the inspection of the Cavaliere Bonucci, the officer employed by the Neapolitan Government to superintend all excavations made either on its behalf, or by its permission, and new additions may perhaps before long be obtained to the already unequalled treasures of the Museo Borbonico.

5. Pompeii has also contributed to the present collection specimens of three classes of antiques,—bronzes, mural paintings, and the ware commonly known as Samian. It would be needless to refer to the history of a city more widely renowned in its ruin than many much greater communities have been in their prosperity. Though Oscan, Etruscan, and Greek remains are not wanting in Pompeii, those obtained by Sir W. Temple belong exclusively to the more prolific period of the Roman rule. The bronze-work is generally distinguished not merely by peculiar elegance and variety of design, but by a rich *patina* of various hues, principally blue and green, resulting from the action of sulphur. It is commonly stated to visitors at Naples that the *patina* of Herculaneum, which perished from

an inundation of volcanic *alluvium*, is distinct from that of Pompeii, which was overwhelmed by showers of ashes, stones, and *scoriæ*. From information, however, which I obtained from very experienced and trustworthy authorities in the Museum at Naples, I believe that the difference now perceptible is due rather to the intervention of man than to any agency of nature. The great bronze statues and busts from Herculaneum, which form the most valuable series of monuments of metallic sculpture now in existence, were discovered at a period when an ill-judged zeal, not confined to Naples, sought to enhance the beauty of all ancient remains by repairs and cleanings; and such operations have destroyed the genuine surface of the metal as yielded from the soil. The bronzes of Pompeii, which are unfortunately less important, are generally of more recent discovery, and have hitherto escaped the hands of the *improver*.

The sites hitherto described have each furnished a series of remains sufficiently numerous and homogeneous to enable the student to obtain from them an idea of local style. Other spots have contributed their products to the collection, but those products being more promiscuous and less characteristic, their geographical distribution is less instructive. I shall therefore more briefly mention the following, as the additional localities from which acquisitions have been made:—

Cumæ, in Campania, founded by a colony of Chalcideans from Eubœa, whom Strabo represents as the earliest Greek settlers in Magna Græcia; afterwards assailed by the Etruscans, and rescued by the fleet of Hiero, king of Syracuse, it obtained a place in the im-

mortal lay of Pindar; but falling, about fifty years later, into the power of the Samnites, it appears to have lost for ever its early prosperity; and Juvenal, terming it "vacuæ," congratulates it on the acquisition of one citizen in the person of the retired Umbritius. During the last three winters, extensive excavations have been made in its necropolis by H.R.H. the Count of Syracuse, and very curious and valuable objects, both Greek and Roman, been brought to light, of which the finest portion has since passed into the possession of the Marchese Campana at Rome. The representatives of Cumæ in the Temple collection are four or five marble sculptures, and a few small terra-cotta figures, both of a late Greek period, with some Roman earthenware lamps, and specimens of glass.

Pozzuoli, also in Campania, known generally by the Greeks as Dicæarchia, by the Romans as Puteoli, was probably a Cumæan colony. Its prosperity is chiefly of the Roman times, when it maintained extensive commercial relations, not merely with Egypt, but Phœnicia; and St. Paul therefore, on his landing, not unnaturally "found brethren" in the city (v. *Acts* xxviii. 14). The objects from Pozzuoli in the present collection are exclusively Roman, consisting of two or three marble busts, a large assortment of terra-cotta lamps, and several remains of glass, some of considerable interest.

Besides these, Bari, formerly Barium in Apulia, less distinguished in ancient than in medieval history, has contributed some painted vases of a late epoch. Fasano, near the ancient Gnatia, in Apulia, familiar to the scholar from the jugglery there exhibited to Horace, has yielded, amongst other things, a vase of remarkable form, which will presently be noticed more fully. From

S. Elpidio, the site of the Oscan Atella, celebrated for the scenic "Fabulæ" adopted by the Romans upon their own early stage, a very beautiful glass vessel has been obtained; whilst S. Agata de' Goti, the ancient Saticula, near the Furcæ Caudinæ, and Anzi, or Anxia, in the Basilicata, have furnished fictile vases of the era of the decadence.

This brief topographical survey of the field from which Sir W. Temple's treasures were originally obtained may introduce us to a somewhat closer consideration of the monuments themselves. As the number of objects, exceeding 1500 in all, is too great to admit of detailed examination, it will be convenient to describe them generally in classes, instancing separately only such specimens as are either valuable as artistic types, or distinguished by some peculiarity of historical interest. I shall commence with the remains of the Etruscan period.

It is remarkable that, although the Etruscan rule in Campania was long and powerful, extending not merely to the cities of the plain already mentioned, but to the Sorrentine promontory, and to the bay of Salerno, few monuments have been discovered in this district of a character distinctly Etruscan, such as the black pottery of Chiusi, the cinerary urns of that city, or of Volterra, or the mural paintings of Corneto. Niebuhr, indeed, was even led to question the existence of any such monuments in Lower Italy, though recent researches, particularly at Capua, have removed all doubt of their reality. The few specimens which I have identified in the Temple collection are all from Etruria Proper. Perhaps the earliest, and amongst the most curious, is a small and broken terra-cotta tablet, with a

figure in low relief, representing a female, holding near her face, with a quaint yet graceful formality, an object which, judging from other analogous remains, is probably a pomegranate. This fruit appears in the hand of the seated female statue in the Casuccini collection at Chiusi, published in Inghirami's '*Etrusco Museo Chiusino*' (pl. xvii. and xviii.) and Micali's '*Monumenti Inediti*' (tav. xxvi. fig. 1), and is believed to be an emblem of Proserpine, not inappropriate to the original destination of that figure, which contained within its hollowed interior the ashes of the dead. But that to which I would now chiefly point attention is the close resemblance of the present bas-relief, both in style and subject, not merely to known Etruscan monuments, but to some figures upon the so-called "Harpy Tomb" of Xanthus, in Lycia, for the acquisition of which we are indebted to Sir Charles Fellows. On the western face of this tomb, as it now stands in the British Museum, may be seen two seated, and three standing females, each holding a flower or fruit, and one of them raising the flower to her face between her fore-finger and thumb, with the same dainty precision as the lady of the Temple terra-cotta. With reference to the still unsettled question as to the Oriental derivation of the Etruscan race, any analogy between their monuments and those of Asia Minor seems to me deserving of note.

Of the Etruscan pottery, properly so called, two specimens only are to be seen in this collection. They are of that somewhat rude black ware, without decorative paintings, of which the age is not very certain, the fabric having probably a wide chronological range. Of a more interesting, though by no means rare character,

are two cinerary urns in terra-cotta, surmounted each by a recumbent figure of the dead, and ornamented with a bas-relief. The larger urn has remains of colour, and a painted inscription recording, as usual, the name of the owner; on its front is a bas-relief, with the favorite subject of the mutual fratricide of Eteocles and Polynices. These monuments, which belong to a class abundant in the museums of Florence and Volterra, are apparently of late execution, presenting a combination of Greek and Etruscan mythology, with a somewhat Roman style of design.

Of metallurgy and the toreutic art, for which Etruria was distinguished amongst the ancients, and of which the most splendid remains are now at Rome, in the Museo Gregoriano, and in the collection of Signor Campana, the specimens here presented are less remarkable. They consist chiefly of two or three bronze candelabra, with branches for suspending the lamps, a few mirrors with incised figures, and some gold ornaments, including an elegant and perfectly preserved necklace, from Corneto. Of these ornaments it is sufficient to say, without opening the extensive question of the era when gold-work was first introduced in Italy, that their style alone does not indicate a very remote antiquity.

In considering the Greek and Roman remains, which form the bulk of the Temple collection, it will be convenient to adhere to the usual classification, which is founded on material.

I. The most ancient, and on the whole perhaps the most important series, is that of Greek fictile vases, amounting in all to 218. They may be distributed chronologically into five classes.

1. The earliest class is that which is commonly

known as Phœnician, though in Italy still more loosely termed Egyptian. The body, or *paste*, of these vases is of a pale yellow or orange clay; upon this figures are painted with a metallic enamel of brown or maroon colour; and in parts, crimson and sometimes white are superadded by means of coloured clays, technically termed *engobes*, whilst the outlines of the figures are frequently strengthened by scratching with a point. The subjects delineated are commonly friezes of animals and chimæræ; as the art advanced, human figures are introduced, engaged in the chase, and at a later period, in other occupations. These specimens are found in large numbers in Sicily and Greece, and are frequently regarded as of Corinthian origin; nor does the legend of the introduction of the art into Tarquinii by Demaratus of Corinth, with the obviously mythical names of his followers, Eucheir and Eugrammos, at all weaken this theory. Without embarking on the vexed question as to the native or foreign manufacture of Italo-Greek vases generally, it may be allowed to mention two circumstances pointed out by a high authority on this subject, Signor Gargiulo, in his '*Cenni sulla maniera di rinvenire i vasi fittili Italo-Greci*' (p. 35); first, that the clay of which this class of vases is made, unlike that of all the later ware, is not to be found in Lower Italy; and secondly, that the animals represented upon them are in many instances equally foreign to that country. The largest collection which I know of this class is that of the Museo Borbonico, but the finest individual specimen, though of a style verging on the succeeding period, is in the possession of Signor Foglia, at Nola. The Temple series includes six or seven examples, of which the most interesting is

a one-handled vase, only 3 inches high, of an orange-coloured clay, with red and purple figures, minutely executed, in a double frieze, representing a hunt of lions and other animals.

The second class of vases, which may be broadly described as contemporary with the Æginetan style of sculpture, exhibits a great advance in the mechanical execution. The body of the clay is here of a clear fine red, on which the figures are painted with a black enamel glaze, believed to be in part composed of volcanic ashes; they are, as before, relieved in parts with crimson or purple, and white is commonly superadded on the flesh of females; the details of dress and armour, as well as the outlines of form, are delicately scratched with the point. Vases of this class are most abundant in the Etruscan sepulchres, particularly at Vulci. The two finest with which I am acquainted are the François Vase in the Uffizii at Florence, inscribed with the name of the potter, "Ergotimos," and the Vatican Vase, representing Achilles playing at dice with Ajax, which bears the signature of "Exekias." The Temple specimens, which are chiefly from S. M. di Capua, are not very remarkable, the principal being a *hydria*, representing the contest of Heracles with Acheloös.

The third epoch of vase-painting may be considered as corresponding to the period from Phidias to Praxiteles, the golden age of ancient art. In this period the forms of the vases, without losing their simplicity, exhibit a more graceful flow of line, and their ornamentation, though severe, is always elegant; the colours of the preceding style are reversed, the figures being left to the natural red of the clay, whilst the background is painted in black; the internal markings of the figures

are delicately, but freely, pencilled in outline; the white and purple engobes are very sparingly employed, and the incised decorations disused. The public and private collections of Rome have been enriched of late years by numerous vases of this class from Vulci, and other Etruscan sites, but the pre-eminence in beauty must be yielded to the series in the Museo Borbonico, owing to the superiority of the Nolan ware in the brilliancy and almost uniform preservation of the glaze. The Temple collection contains some very elegant and finely preserved samples of this style, though not generally of large dimensions, and not, on the whole, remarkable for novelty or fulness of subject.

The fourth chronological class may be taken as about contemporary with Alexander the Great, and his immediate successors. It is distinguished by the extraordinary magnitude to which the finest of its productions attained in the Apulian manufactures, by the larger use of white, yellow, and purple engobes, greater variety in the forms of the vases themselves, and a richer, though occasionally excessive, ornamentation, whilst the figure-paintings present less purity and severity of composition, and less correctness of drawing. In the monuments of this style the Museo Borbonico has no rival; nor could all Europe united produce such a series as the seven colossal *craters* from Ruvo and Canosa, to which I have before alluded. The finest specimen in the Temple collection, though insignificant in comparison with these giants of the ware, is, including a modern pedestal, 3 feet 7 inches in height, a dimension exceeding any vase previously in the British Museum. It is a *crater* from Ruvo, of the same elegant form as the vase of Darius, having two handles, decorated with

masks in relief, and springing from the necks of swans. The principal subject, painted on the body of the vase, is the death of Hippolytus, represented much as told by the messenger in the tragedy of Euripides, at the moment when

"Κὺμ' ἐξέθηκε ταῦρον, ἄγριον τέρας."

Another vase from the same locality, and in the same style, is of a less common form, having a somewhat globular body, with an elegant cover, and a lofty pedestal, which gives to the whole a stately and graceful effect; its subject is a *symposium*. Of the same class, and also from Ruvo, is a beautiful *lekythus*, published in Gargiulo's '*Recueil de Gravures des Monuments du Musée Bourbon*,' the subject of which is there described as a "Sacrifice to Cybele," but which I should rather interpret as the Judgment of Paris, represented with some unusual accessaries. Of the fourth period also is a *rhyton* of Nolan manufacture, representing the head of a mule in harness, apparently neighing, which is of the finest style and most brilliant preservation, and which appeared to have more celebrity in Naples than any other object in the collection. It was purchased by Sir W. Temple many years since at the very inadequate price of 30 piastres (about £6,) from the same person who was afterwards employed to pack the collection for transmission to England, and who betrayed some emotion as he handled his former property for the last time.

The only remaining specimens of this class, the richest by far in the Temple series, which need individual mention, are two from Gnatia; on one of which a comedian, carrying a tripod, is depicted with great spirit in white and brown colour; on the other is a

scenic mask, also in white and brown, with the inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the rim of the vase.

The remaining or fifth class comprehends the vases of the decadence, from the Macedonian period to the capture of Corinth by Mummius, about which time the ceramographic art seems to have become extinct in Greece, and soon after probably in Italy. The fabric of this epoch displays a continuous decline in every quality both of mechanical and artistic excellence: the use of white greatly increases, and occasionally blue is added; the drawing becomes coarse and inaccurate, the forms of the vases clumsy, and the glaze, originally defective, has generally lost all its brilliancy. To the earliest and best part of this period, or perhaps to the close of the preceding, belongs a somewhat fantastic but still elegant vase from Gnatia, having two richly elaborated floral handles, and a cover surmounted by a figure of a bird.

One class of vases, dissimilar from any of the preceding, is comparatively rare in Italy, though the British Museum possesses a series, probably unequalled, from Athens. Upon these vases, which belong generally to a comparatively late period, a ground of white is laid on with a clay engobe, all over the body, and figures are then pencilled upon this ground, in brown or yellow outlines. There is a *lekythus* of this class in the Temple collection, from Locri Epizephyrii, on which is represented a mounted Amazon overthrowing a Greek.

At this point it will be convenient to break the present description, reserving the notice of the terra-cottas, bronzes, glass, marbles, and mosaics for a future occasion.

(Read April 1st, 1857.)

The description of the Temple collection, which at our last meeting was carried to the close of the subject of painted vases, may be resumed with the terra-cottas. Under this head are commonly included those earthenware vessels which, though identical in form, material, and use with some of the preceding class, are distinguished from them by the absence of glaze, though in some instances decorated partially with colour. The collection possesses a grand *crater*, found at Canosa, nearly similar, both in shape and dimensions, to the painted vase representing the death of Hippolytus: it has, unfortunately, been much broken and repaired; but on the neck are two *quadrigæ* in full career, in well-designed though ill-finished relief, and from the body originally projected four horses, each as it were issuing from the vase, and plunging into the air,—decorations which perhaps imply that this fine specimen might have once been the prize of a victor in a chariot-race. Another vessel, of the shape of a *lekythus*, has on its body a bas-relief, slightly coloured with red and blue, and in some parts gilded, which, if perfectly genuine, is interesting from its subject—Ulysses passing the Isle of the Sirens. The hero is seen tied to the mast of his ship, and with his eyes bandaged (an incident not introduced in the Homeric tale,—v. *Odys.* xii. 178, etc.); two Sirens stand on the shore, playing on the lyre, and distinguished by birds' tails and legs; above them appears the upper part of another female, undraped, and apparently chanting that dangerous invitation from which the crew were only protected by

the wax in their ears. A third vessel, deserving notice for the beauty of its modelling, is a *rhyton*, terminating in the head of a calf: on the bowl is a bas-relief of a gryphon—

"'Οξύστομος . . . Ζηνὸς ἀκραγὴς κύων" (*Prom.* v. 803);—

not, however, in this instance, as in the description of Æschylus and in that of Milton, assailing

"the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold,"

but seizing with beak and talons an unfortunate Amazon, whom he has already overthrown. The *rhytons*, of which there are several, presenting at one end receptacles for wine, at the other plastic imitations of animal forms, may be regarded as a connecting link between the mechanical and artistic divisions of terra-cotta ware. The original type of these vases was probably a horn, such as Xenophon mentions, under the name of κέρας, as the drinking-vessel of the Thracians (v. *Anab.* vii. c. ii. 23); the point, or lower end, was pierced, and directed towards the mouth in drinking, as is fully explained by Athenæus (*Deipn.*, lib. xi. p. 497, b), and as may be seen frequently depicted on vases. The word ῥυτόν first occurs in Demosthenes (*in Midiam*, 566, 1); but whether the vessel so licentiously abused in the revellings of Meidias was of the form of a horn, or of that more generally adopted in later times, and now identified with the name of *rhyton*, can hardly, I think, be determined. The assertion of Athenæus (*loc. cit.*) that *rhytons* were first made under Ptolemy Philadelphus, is disproved both by the passage in Demosthenes, which the grammarian

himself quotes, and by the style of many extant specimens, which carries them back at least to the age of the Athenian orator.

The purely artistic terra-cottas of the Temple collection are of comparatively small dimensions. With the exception of the recumbent figures on the covers of Etruscan sarcophagi, few specimens remain of statuary in this material on a large scale. The Museo Borbonico indeed possesses a Jupiter and Juno from Pompeii, of heroic dimensions, and three other figures of life-size, whilst in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican is a fine Mercury, also of the size of life; but the terra-cotta statues, which in early times adorned the pediments and *acroteria* of the Roman and Italo-Greek temples, have almost entirely perished. Amongst the small figures which are everywhere discovered in abundance, the favourite subjects seem to have been women and children. Many of these possess a value independent of their beauty, as reduced copies of admired statues which time has destroyed. In most cases, however, their design, rather than their execution, constitutes their chief merit. Purity of taste, truthfulness, and absence of mannerism are the pre-eminent characteristics of these minor works, no less than of the grander compositions of monumental sculpture. The simplicity and artistic unconsciousness in attitude and expression, which some of the figures from common life evince, might be an instructive study to the modern portrait-artist. Let him only learn to place an English lady in her chair with the ease and truthfulness shown in a small seated female in the Temple collection, and he need fear no inferiority in the beauty of his model. In short, let him aim more

at the reality of the antique, and its ideality will come unsought. On the other hand, the execution of the Greek and Roman terra-cottas partakes of the imperfection inseparable from this species of manufacture. Neither in ancient nor modern times have means been found to obviate altogether the unequal shrinking of the clay in firing, and the consequent distortion of the original form, which is peculiarly injurious to the representation of the nude. The admirers of the popular statuettes in what is now termed "Parian" are not always aware that these figures have generally shrunk in the manufacture to the extent of about a sixth of their size; and this process not being an artistic, but a fortuitous reduction, a certain dislocation, and consequent disproportion, almost necessarily results, which may not perhaps be detected by the unpractised eye, but which tends to produce a rigidity in the limbs, very different from that articulation of structure, and *morbidezza* of surface, in figures as they come from the hand of a skilful modeller or sculptor.

Amongst the Temple terra-cottas, passing over those which are remarkable merely for gracefulness of form, which the visitor will distinguish more rapidly and surely by his eye than by any description, one or two may claim notice from peculiarity of subject. The first is a small figure, found at Canosa, and representing Scylla, not with all the terrific accompaniments of the magnificent description in the Odyssey (xii. 85–100), nor with the fishy tail, as seen in the decoration of the helmet of Pallas on those marvellous gems of art, the silver coins of Thurium; but simply as a beautiful female, from whose middle proceed three dogs; in the words of Ovid (*Met.* xiii. 732),—

"Scylla feris atram canibus succingitur alvum,
Virginis ora gerens."

Another statuette, of which the antique portion is well executed, represents Jupiter driving a *quadriga*, but its archæological value is impaired by the fact that the horses are a modern restoration. There are also a few specimens of grotesque but not tasteless humour; in particular, a bust of very un-Caucasian type, which might have served for Bottom the weaver, and was perhaps intended for Midas; the affinity between the human and the asinine character is here touched with becoming delicacy, and, as a natural representation of an unnatural subject, the conception is not unworthy to take its place beside the "true griffin" of a well-known living writer.

The terra-cottas hitherto noticed, whether vases or figures, belong altogether to the Greek school. Of a later period is a ware, of which the Temple collection possesses a few specimens—the red lustrous pottery with ornaments in relief, sometimes known as Samian, and sometimes as Aretine. Although one of the most distinguished authorities in classical archæology, the late C. O. Müller, has ranked this fabric amongst the productions of late Etruscan skill (v. *Archäol. der Kunst*, § 171), recent researches have so fully established the wide diffusion of the manufacture under the early Emperors, that it can hardly now be characterized by any ethnical name but Roman. Signor Riccio, in the work to which I have alluded in the former part of this paper, vindicates the rights of Capua as one of the principal seats of the manufacture, in opposition to the exclusive claims advanced by Signor Fabbroni, of Arezzo, in favour of his native city (v. *Storia degli*

antichi Vasi fittili Aretini). In France and Germany also, remains have been found of kilns for firing this ware, of moulds for impressing the reliefs, and of stamps for making the moulds. In England, although fragments are everywhere discovered, no conclusive evidence, I believe, exists of a local manufacture. Indeed the frequent identity of the potters' names, stamped on these fragments, with those discovered in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, as well as the number of anciently mended examples, which had probably been broken in the transit, seems rather to point to an importation from Germany. Amongst the Temple specimens, which were all found at Pompeii, is a saucer, about 6 inches in diameter, possessing the rare recommendation of being unbroken. The fragility of the Samian ware, with which this is commonly, though perhaps not quite correctly, identified, was proverbial in the Roman times. Plautus, in the person of Peniculus, complaining that Menæchmus did not knock loud enough at a door, says ("*Menæchmus*," A. I. s. ii. v. 65)—

"Metuis, credo, ne fores Samiæ sient;"

and again, more distinctly, in the "Bacchides" (A. II. s. ii. v. 23)—

"Scis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet."

Vessels of this fabric, therefore, not having been, like the earlier Greek vases, deposited in the chambers of the dead, but either buried in the earth by accident, or perhaps thrown away in ancient times because broken, are now seldom found entire.

Another variety of earthenware, belonging exclusively to the Roman time, consists of some small vases and

lamps from Pozzuoli, of which the body is of a pale clay, covered with a vitreous glaze of bluish-green. A still rarer object, if it may not even be termed unique, is a kind of jug, twelve inches high, having on its front a bas-relief of a female, apparently sacrificing before an altar; the body is of earthenware, but its surface has been coated with a blue cupriferous enamel precisely similar to that of the small figures found in Egyptian tombs. The site of its discovery is not recorded; but it may be conjectured to have been made in Egypt under the Roman Empire.

The bronzes of the Temple collection, which may next be considered, fall, like the terra-cottas, into two divisions, that of ideal art, and that of useful manufacture. Those of the former class are, of course, of small dimensions; for the larger metallurgic monuments are found chiefly at Herculaneum and Pompeii, where none but the Neapolitan government are permitted to explore. Considering the multitude of bronze statues which ancient writers mention as existing in the Roman times, it appears at first somewhat unaccountable that they should so rarely be found in other districts than these buried cities; but the reason probably is, that the majority of the figures which were accessible were melted down, for the sake of their metal, by the Iconoclasts, both secular and ecclesiastical—the "Barbari" and "Barberini"—of the middle ages. Had Herculaneum been exhumed under the Angevin or Aragonese dynasties of Naples, its bronze statues, now probably as numerous and important as those of all Europe united, might have shared the fate of the colossal horse of the Piazza di S. Gennaro, which was converted into bells for the cathedral by Cardinal Caraffa.

The finest by far of the figures in the present collection, and perhaps the most beautiful example of its class in the British Museum, is that which was deposited there by Sir W. Temple, about six years since—the statuette of the infant Bacchus, from Pompeii, which is too well known and too universally admired to need any description. From the same locality, and of equally masterly and finished style, is a bust of a youthful Satyr, enveloped in the *nebris*, and holding in one hand some fruit; the eyes, as in most of the larger statues from Herculaneum and Pompeii, are inlaid with a coloured composition. Some of the smaller figures, like the terra-cottas, are evidently reductions from celebrated statues. A seated figure of Mercury, only four inches high, is from the same original design, though slightly varied in detail, as the life-sized Mercury from Herculaneum, now in the Museum of Naples, which is there commonly regarded as the finest bronze statue which has survived from ancient times. Another apparent copy is a figure of Venus, found at Alexandria; it is nine inches high, and gilded, representing the goddess arranging her hair before a mirror, originally in her left hand, but now lost; it is, as usual with such imitations, feeble in execution, though very graceful in design. Of more genuine merit is a statuette, only seven inches high, representing a youth in a short tunic and *chlamys*, with a Phrygian bonnet, perhaps Adonis: the hands are lost, but the position of the arm, and raised left leg, seem to indicate that he was bending a bow. The boldness and accuracy with which this transient movement is expressed, the graceful lines of the drapery, and the clean and precise execution of all the details, combine to refer this figure to the best period of art.

In the more mechanical department, comprehending bronze vessels, furniture, articles of attire, and other objects of use, the collection is extremely rich. No part is more interesting or complete than the specimens of defensive armour, found almost all at Ruvo, though the precise distribution of the several pieces, and the number of persons to whose tombs they belonged, is not recorded. A helmet of plain workmanship, and unusually thick and heavy material, bears the inscription *ΔΑΣΙΜΟΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ*, written in archaic characters from right to left. The name of Dasimus is altogether new; and Pyrrhus, his father, is, of course, not to be confounded with the Epirote invader of Magna Græcia, as the form of the letters, and the use of the retrograde arrangement, together carry it earlier even than the celebrated helmet in the British Museum, dedicated by Hiero of Syracuse, in honour of his Cumæan victory, B.C. 474. Another helmet, though from the same locality as the first, and probably not far removed in age, is of entirely different construction. The metal of this is light and thin, delicately incised in parts with floral ornaments; the edges are punctured with small holes, in many of which remain minute brass pins, for attaching the internal lining; this was further secured with coarse thread, of which fragments, apparently perfect, but in fact quite rotten, may still be seen in their original place. On the summit, fixed in a bronze socket, is a wooden stump, from which formerly rose the crest. Next may be mentioned a remarkably fine cuirass, consisting of breast and back plates, united at the sides by hinges, still preserved, and probably also by shoulder-straps, now lost, but which might have been decorated with reliefs, like the so-called "Bronzes of Siris." The exact

adaptation of this cuirass to every curve and inequality of the body, while greatly enhancing its beauty as a work of art, must proportionally have impeded any violent movement in the wearer. I am therefore inclined to regard it as a piece of prize armour, a specimen of the ἆθλα represented in the *exergues* of the decadrachms of Syracuse, rather than as intended for actual use. A waist-band follows, of more elastic construction, having at one end two hooks, at the other three pairs of holes to receive them, the second and third pair being designed to meet the possible requirements of that fair rotundity of person from which the classic warrior was no more exempt, in the fifth stage of life, than the Shakespearian "Justice." Perhaps, however, the finest objects in this series are a pair of greaves, which are not merely carefully modelled to the form of the leg, but each decorated at the knee with a delicately engraved, though somewhat grotesque, figure of a winged Gorgon, running, with her tongue protruded, gnashing her teeth, and brandishing in her hand serpents. The edges are perforated for the attachment of a lining, like the helmet lastly described, which is so precisely similar to the greaves in style and condition, that it may, not improbably, have belonged to the same person.

The equestrian accoutrements are not less remarkable than those of the *hoplite*. Amongst those of the horse is a frontal, or *ampyx*, from Armento in the Basilicata, much broken and restored, but retaining still its original character. It is a plate for covering the forehead of the animal, decorated in low relief with a human face in a helmet; the helmet is fastened below by παραγναθίδες, or cheek-pieces, in the shape

of a ram's head, identical in design with a pair attached to a helmet in the present collection. Of equal rarity are two muzzles for covering the nose of the horse; one of which, found at Ruvo, and of elegant construction, has a bit, with its curb-chain, in perfect preservation. But there is another object also attributed to Ruvo, which, if it can be believed antique, is undoubtedly one of the most novel articles of equipment yet discovered. It is a bronze spur, with a rowel, and a buckle for a strap which passed under the foot, in all respects similar to the characteristic badge of medieval knighthood; but the decomposition of the metal appears to indicate an antiquity much greater than the middle ages. The use of some kind of spurs, both by the Greeks and Romans, is abundantly attested by ancient writers (*v.* Xenoph. *Hipp.* viii. 5; Virg. *Æn.* xi. 714; Sil. Ital. vii. 696; Theophr. *Char.* 21.); indeed an amusing instance of the similarity of manners in all ages of the world may be found in the mention of this implement by Theophrastus (*loc. cit.*), who speaks of walking in spurs—ἐν τοῖς μυῶψι περιπατεῖν—as a caprice of dandyism in his day. It is singular, however, that no representation of the spur, of whatever construction, has yet been identified in ancient monuments; and the one or two actual specimens which have from time to time been brought to light (*v.* Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, Supp., tom. iv. liv. ii. c. 4, and Caylus, *Rec.* iii. pl. 9. no. 5) have been subjected, whether rightly or not, to some suspicion. No evidence exists, even in literature, of the use of the rowel in antiquity. It has generally been supposed by writers on medieval antiquities to have been introduced about the time of Henry III.

of England (*v.* Meyrick's '*Ancient Armour*,' vol. i. p. 90; Fosbroke's *Encycl. Antiq.* p. 373); and it seems hardly probable that such an appendage to the spur, if known at all in classic times, should have fallen into disuse. As, however, one of the most experienced practical judges in Naples, Signor Gargiulo, has not hesitated to pronounce the Temple specimen to be Greek, I shall leave the balance of probabilities to be decided by others.

The only other objects requiring mention amongst the bronzes are a nail, of quadrilateral form, eight inches long, having on each face a Latin inscription, which has already been published by Professor Orioli, in the Report of the "*Congresso degli Scienziati in Napoli*, 1845," and three strigils, from Pompeii, identical in size and pattern, having each on one side of the handle a representation of a Roman chariot-race, delineated in dotted outline by means of small punched holes.

The collection of glass, though less extensive than the bronzes and terra-cottas, is scarcely inferior to them in interest and beauty. That the East was the mother of glass manufacture, is attested not merely by the tale of Pliny as to its accidental invention on the sands of Syria, but by the more trustworthy evidence of existing monuments. Representations, not merely of glass vessels, but of the process of glass-blowing, are, according to Sir Gardner Willkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ch. vii.), to be seen on Egyptian paintings as early as the twelfth dynasty. To a later, but more definite period, belongs a dated monument of the art, now in the British Museum. This is the unique vase discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrúd, having engraved

on its side, in the cuneiform character, the name of Sargina, the Assyrian king who reigned at Khorsabad in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. Down to the Roman Imperial times, Egypt and Phœnicia contained the principal seats of this manufacture. The glass discovered in the late tombs of Greece and the Archipelago, and still more largely in those of Southern Italy, is similar to that which is common in Egypt. One of the most frequent inscriptions on a certain class of specimens from Roman sites is the name of a Sidonian artist; and it is probable that Puteoli, where many pieces of late fabric are discovered, was extensively engaged, under the Empire, in the importation of glass from Phœnicia and Alexandria. The Temple collection presents examples of the two principal processes mentioned by Pliny (xxxvi. 66), those of blowing and turning, or grinding, with some others not described by him. The tombs of Magna Græcia have supplied several beautiful specimens of *alabastra*, or other small vases, of striated fabric, of which many have added to the brilliancy of varied hues the iridescent beauty of partial decomposition. Equally rich in effect are two hemispherical bowls, examples of the ingenious manufacture from sticks of polychrome glass, united laterally by the application of a flux at a moderate heat, and then cut across horizontally in layers of uniform pattern. A small round vessel with a cover exhibits that introduction of gold for which the Egyptian artificers were famed; and a white vase, with its entire surface worked symmetrically into small facets, is a good illustration of cutting. The finest object, however, in the collection is a vase ten inches high, and of a deep violet colour, with two small

handles, each springing from two scenic masks, of a cream-coloured vitreous paste. This vessel was found at Atella; unfortunately, the discoverer, with an ignorant expectation of enhancing its value, cleaned off the *patina*, or iridescent coating, before selling it to Sir W. Temple.

Amongst the most curious objects, however, and probably quite new to the English amateur, are six small figures of birds, found at Pozzuoli, and whose original application must be left to conjecture. Each is 3 or 4 inches long, and blown as thin as possible, in white or blue glass. The Museo Borbonico, which possesses, on the whole, the finest assemblage of antique glass in Europe, has but two such objects, found at Pompeii, but very inferior in beauty to those of the Temple collection. Another article, also said to be from Pozzuoli, and to which I do not know of any parallel, is a white glass cinerary urn, in the shape of a cradle, 1 foot 10 inches long, and covered with a flat top, which formed a sheet of unusual dimensions for an ancient manufacture. It is, unfortunately, much broken, and repaired.

With the exception of the sculptures and mosaics, which belong chiefly to the Roman period, and will therefore be last considered, the remaining classes of objects are of minor importance. The amber carvings, however, which represent generally *scarabæi*, human heads, recumbent bulls, etc., are, of their kind, unusually fine. Their archaic workmanship proves that they must have been executed before the period when the Baltic trade in this material is known to have been opened to the merchants of the South. Catania, in Sicily, is, I believe, the only spot in the Mediterranean

where amber is now found; and it is possible that it might have supplied the pieces in the Temple collection, which are all said to have been obtained from Armento in the Basilicata. In the Odyssey, however (xv. 459), a Phœnician trader is mentioned as

"Χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο,—"

where the plural form of ἠλέκτροισιν must refer to amber *beads*, such as those which are strung into a necklace (though without gold), in the present collection. Should these in like manner have been brought to Italy from Phœnicia, their original home must have probably been on the borders of the Erythræan Sea. From whatever source obtained, the material was evidently regarded as valuable; for in each sculptured specimen the subject is carefully adjusted to the size and shape of the piece, sometimes at the cost of sacrificing proportion to economy, in the same way as is done in the marble statue of David, by M. Angelo, in the Piazza del Granduca at Florence. Not merely the beads of the necklace, but the other carved pieces, are all pierced for suspension, and were probably worn as amulets.

The gold and silver ornaments, though in many instances elegant, present no peculiarity calling for notice in a learned society. The coins consist merely of twelve promiscuous specimens in gold, of no numismatic value. Nor are the engraved scarabæi and gems, with the bone and ivory carvings, sufficiently important to need description.

The next series to be considered is that of marbles and alabasters, which in number exceed 100, though the majority are of small dimensions. Amongst so many it is not surprising that several should be of

little value, especially if tested by the standard of so splendid a collection as that of our national Museum. Magna Græcia, which was the district chiefly accessible to Sir William Temple, does not furnish the means of obtaining such valuable relics of sculpture as the countries which have been opened to British influence in the Levant, whose copious and characteristic productions have given to the British Museum an undisputed pre-eminence amongst the collections of Europe for variety, instructiveness, and the exhibition of the highest, if not always the most popular, forms of art. The abundance and beauty of the artistic monuments of other classes, and particularly the exquisite refinement and true sculptural spirit of the coins, throughout the Greek cities of Southern Italy, sufficiently prove that the rarity of statuary of the autonomous or ante-Roman period is not due to any want of genius or power. I should rather attribute it to the difficulty of procuring a suitable material for work of the highest class. The tufo and other stones employed by the Etruscans are altogether unfitted for fine execution either of form or surface; the Luna quarries were not opened before the time of the Emperors; and Greek marble could only be obtained in large quantities by an expensive importation. From this cause, I think, it has occurred that the sculptures even of the Museo Borbonico are only of the same quality, and of course very inferior in number, to those of the Vatican. The mythological or ideal statuary in those collections consists, with few exceptions, either of monuments transported from Greece after the Roman conquest, or, more generally, of works executed in Italy under the Empire, though frequently by

Greek resident artists, and in imitation or slight modification of earlier Greek models. Such works were, of course, more extensively produced at the magnificent capital of the Empire than in the smaller, though highly luxurious and cultivated, cities of the provinces.

The Temple collection possesses two or three specimens of considerable beauty. The most important is a head of heroic size, representing a young and beautiful female of ideal type, but of uncertain subject: the hair, which is simply arranged under a fillet, retains traces of colour, resembling the treatment of the female statues from Herculaneum; the design is pure, and almost severe, but the execution is somewhat hard, and bears, apparently, marks of re-touching. Another head, of life-size, representing a youthful Satyr, is of fine execution, though ordinary design; and a male bust, found at Baiæ, with features resembling Jupiter, but with the head partially veiled, and decorated with foliage—perhaps intended for Saturn—is remarkable for its material, *giallo antico*, though for no other quality of interest. Of greater merit, perhaps, than any of the preceding, is a broken bas-relief of two recumbent Satyrs, of good design and in pure condition; it was found at Cumæ. A still more beautiful monument, belonging probably to the Greek period, is a bas-relief from Cumæ, representing Ariadne reclining on a rock, a figure equally pure in conception, and skilful in execution. A small Pompeian statuette of a Satyr holding a panther by the neck (of which the upper part has passed into other hands, and is here supplied by a copy) is remarkable for the bold and accurate modelling of

the struggling animal, and the admirable expressi[illegible] of vivacity in his mischievous master. Of a new a[illegible] tasteful design is a *trapezophoron*, in the form of winged boy holding in his arms a bird: the figu[illegible] rises from foliage, which was supported by a lion's foot, now lost; and the adjustment of the boy's wings to the superincumbent weight at once relieves the sense of weakness, which appears to me to belong to the more common form of these pieces of furniture, and preserves, by a judicious modification of natural structure in the wing itself, the purely architectural spirit of the composition. This figure, which is of Parian marble, was obtained from Cumæ.

In addition to these ideal sculptures, which belong to the mixed class before described, and conveniently termed Græco-Roman, the collection contains several portrait busts from Pozzuoli and elsewhere, of which the majority are purely Roman both in subject and style. None, however, are of sufficient interest to require individual mention.

Amongst the sepulchral monuments, consisting principally of inscribed cinerary urns of the usual character, may, perhaps, be included a vase of oriental alabaster, of the form of an *urceolus*, eighteen inches high: the handle springs from a finely sculptured head of Medusa, of the later or *attractive* type, and terminates above in the head of a frog, which joins it to the rim. The discovery of this singularly beautiful monument is not recorded.

One only of the inscriptions (of which an impression is now submitted for inspection) requires special mention. It is on a tablet found at Baiæ, and though now imperfect, and the letters somewhat

effaced by the action of water, it may be read as follows :—

- - ITRVVIO
- ONI.ARCH
- IVS CLASSIC
- - - B.M.

The interest of this tablet depends upon the mode in which the incomplete words of the first two lines are supplied. If it be allowable to render them thus—"Vitruvio Pollioni architecto,"—we possess a memorial of a person of great celebrity in the literature of the arts. Unfortunately, the few biographical notices which remain of Vitruvius throw no light upon the propriety of such an interpretation. The only other name recorded in history, with which the defective *cognomen* might be consistently supplied, is that of Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo, which was long preserved in the following inscription on the arch of the Gavii, at Verona, unhappily destroyed in 1805 :—L . VITRVVIVS . L - L . CERDO . ARCHITECTUS (v. Gruter, p. clxxxvi. ; Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* no. 4145 ; Maffei, *Verona Illust.* pt. ii. p. 20 ; pt. iii. p. 90). The architectural style of that arch, however, seems to have indicated a later date than would consist with the palæography of this tablet, which appears of the Augustan age, or not far removed from it. Herr Mommsen, who has published this monument in his '*Inscriptiones Neapolitanæ*' (No. 2665), has thrown doubt on the proposed interpretation, suggesting that the Vitruvius mentioned in the inscription may have been an officer in the Fleet of Misenum, and that "ARCH" may stand for "archiguberno" rather than "architecto." But, with sincere deference to so distinguished an authority, it seems to

me hardly in accordance with that sound and philosophic criticism by which evidently he aims to be guided, to prefer a less natural interpretation, simply because the more natural happened to be also the more interesting. Although there may be folly in credulity, there is not necessarily wisdom in scepticism. Had the question been as to the genuineness of the monument, I should certainly have admitted that the greater the curiosity, the greater the ground for suspicion. But in the present instance the inscription itself is undoubted: the sole question is, to whom does it refer? And it certainly appears to me more rational, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to suppose that it refers to a person whom we know at least to have existed, than to a person who is only called into being for the purposes of criticism.

There is in the collection another inscription of a different class, but possessing likewise some curiosity. It is engraved upon a thin plate of lead, in small and hardly legible Greek letters, and has been a good deal broken and repaired. This inscription, which was found at Cumæ, has been published by Henzen in the '*Annali dell' Instituto*' for 1846, and again in an article by Signor Minervini, in the '*Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano*' of July, 1848. The purport of it is an imprecation on a woman named Valeria Codratilla, apparently by her husband; and it is believed to be of the second or third century of our era.

The mosaics, some of which are of considerable size and importance, all belong to the class termed *opus vermiculatum*, in which stone, marble, clay, and glass are jointly used for the production of the best attainable pictorial effect. There are none, I think, in a strictly

genuine condition, as taken from the soil; indeed, from the absence of any record as to their respective sites of discovery, it is probable that they were obtained chiefly from dealers, who, finding their decorative properties more available in the market than their archeological, repaired, and, when need was, restored them, to an extent which has somewhat detracted from their value as ancient monuments. Despite this drawback, however, which is common to the majority of the mosaics preserved not merely in the palaces but the museums of the Continent, some of the specimens give a fair idea of the style of ornamentation prevailing in the Imperial times, and assist to strengthen that which is perhaps the weakest department in our national collection of antiquities. One piece, divided into eight compartments, each representing a fish, is but little restored, and very characteristic of Roman taste, both in subject and composition. Two others, representing figures engaged in sacrificial rites, though, like the preceding, deficient in refinement, from the largeness and imperfect adjustment of the *tesseræ*, are very effective as mural decorations. The remaining pieces present chiefly stiff ornamental patterns, adapted merely for the purpose of furniture; and as such they are now being arranged in the Museum.

The last series to be noticed consists of a few specimens of Roman fresco-painting. These may all be assigned to the early period of the Empire, when the scale of colour adopted by the purer Greek school had been considerably enlarged, and variety of composition and general liveliness of effect were more cultivated than accuracy of drawing or truth of detail. Most of the pieces are small and unimportant; but four, of

larger dimensions, deserve separate mention. The most interesting in subject, though now much defaced, is a scene from the myth of Hippolytus,—Phædra denouncing to Theseus the pretended crime of his son, who is represented as a huntsman attended by his dog, and, with uplifted hands, expressing his horror at the infamous accusation. Of the others, the largest, which is 28 inches by 18, represents Apollo Citharœdus, his lyre resting on a stand supported by a dwarf caryatid, resembling in design a *trapezophoron* in the present collection. The other two exhibit a Victory with a palm-branch, and a female attended by a Cupid—supposed to be Phryne unveiling herself before her judges. All these four were discovered at Pompeii; they came into Sir W. Temple's possession with a somewhat questionable title; and for the right of retaining them the British Museum is indebted to a special permission not often accorded by the Neapolitan Court, and in its circumstances tantamount to a donation.

Besides the Greek and Roman antiquities, of which the description here closes, a few objects are included in the collection, of the Medieval and *Renaissance* periods, though not sufficiently numerous to affect the generally classic character of the whole. The finest of these is a bucket of Venetian glass, of blue and white fabric, very elegant in design and colour. A small glass goblet, of the same manufacture, is remarkable for the silvery iridescence with which it is coated. There is also a numerous array of red earthenware vases from Sicily, which are, I believe, of Saracenic origin; but they are chiefly notable for fantastic forms.

In the month of September last, I was sent by the Trustees of the British Museum to remove the collection from Naples. I found a copious and careful catalogue of the whole, drawn up, about two years since, by Signor Gargiulo, which, though of no literary pretensions, proved very serviceable in the identification of the objects, as it has since been in their classification. The necessary arrangements having been completed, the collection was safely conveyed, in the beginning of December, to the British Museum, where it will now shortly be thrown open to public view.

EDMUND OLDFIELD.

V.—ON THE ALLEGED CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EARLY HISTORY OF GREECE AND ASSYRIA.

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
PRESIDENT.

(Read May 20th, 1857.)

THE value of the discoveries which have already unlocked so many authentic records of early Assyrian history, can hardly be overrated, though it will probably be long before it can be fully appreciated, as we may now be witnessing no more than the dawn of that light which those discoveries are destined to shed, in their future progress, on objects and epochs which have not yet been brought within their range. It was to be expected that, even at their present stage, they should give rise to manifold conjectures, and be invoked in aid of various systems, sometimes perhaps prematurely, or to an extent which will not stand the test of critical investigation. The lively interest which the Royal Society of Literature has taken in the subject, induces me to draw its attention to an attempt which has been recently made in Germany, and in a great measure grounded on those discoveries, to connect the early history of Greece with that of Assyria, and to establish the strictly historical character of

events which have been considered by some eminent modern critics as purely mythical.

The work to which I refer is entitled *Geschichte der Assyrier und Iranier vom 13ten bis zum 5ten Jahrhundert vor Christus, von Jacob Kruger.* The author belongs to that school of historical criticism which maintains that an intercourse between Greece and Asia may be traced through authentic records to the period in which his history begins; and in his preface he speaks with some asperity of those who take a different view, as deficient either in knowledge or judgment; and is especially severe on the late Karl Otfried Müller, as guilty of what he calls the "colossal folly" of attempting to inclose Greece with a "Chinese Wall," so as to exclude the influence of Eastern civilization on the early development of the Hellenic mind. One who so pronounces upon others, challenges the strictest examination of his own conclusions; and if they should not prove satisfactory, those who reject them will at least have had the benefit of all the light which he has been able to throw upon them, and cannot be charged with ignorance of the premises on which they rest. I should not be doing justice to the hypothesis which I propose to discuss, if I did not first of all exhibit it in its broad outlines, so that it may have the benefit of whatever speciousness it may claim on the score of intrinsic coherency and compactness. But it will be seen that, although I shall find myself obliged to cast a glance over a very wide field of historical and chronological inquiry, the matters with which this Paper is properly concerned, and on which alone I desire to be considered as expressing a decided opinion, lie within a comparatively

narrow compass. I am not able to say whether M— Kruger's work, which was only published last year, has met with a favourable reception in Germany. I have reason to believe that the subject itself is there regarded with some degree of aversion in many philological circles; and there is much in his book as to which I should be surprised if it obtained the assent of any whose judgment is of much weight. But this is of the less importance, as, on one material point, he has had the good fortune unconsciously to coincide with an author for whose learning and genius I entertain most profound respect; and there are other points in which his views appear to be in accordance with some which once prevailed very extensively among English scholars, and as to which I do not know how far they have been yet abandoned. It is not then the importance, either as to celebrity or intrinsic merit, of the work itself, that has induced me to select it as a subject for criticism. Nor indeed is it my intention to deal with it controversially, any further than may be absolutely necessary for my main object, which is neither polemical nor dogmatical, but is simply to inquire into the present limits of our knowledge with regard to a certain period and field of ancient history; and for such an inquiry the statements which I am about to consider may, perhaps, by their breadth and boldness, afford a more convenient occasion than might have been the case if the subject had been treated by some more distinguished author.

Among all the events related in the great Persian epos, the Shah-nameh, none is more memorable, or attended with more momentous and far-reaching consequences, than the partition made by Feridun. This

powerful monarch, after having overcome the monstrous tyrant Zohak, and chained him to a rock in the deepest cavern of Mount Demawend, was still reigning in peace and prosperity, when he thought fit to divide his vast dominions, extending from India to the Mediterranean, among his three sons, Tur, Selm, and Iredsh. To Tur he assigned the provinces on the Oxus; to Selm, those of the extreme west; but the fairest, richest, noblest portion, the land of heroes, Iran and Yemen, he bestowed on his favourite youngest son, the virtuous and gentle Iredsh. The two elder brothers, burning with envy and hatred, conspired against the younger, slew him, and sent his head to Feridun. But an avenger sprang up in the person of Minutshehr, the son of a posthumous daughter of the murdered prince.[1] Minutshehr, when he came to man's estate, successively vanquished the two guilty brothers, slew each of them with his own hand, and sent each of their heads to Feridun, who, sated, but grieved with the vengeance which he had sought, sank into the grave, leaving his great-grandson lord of the whole realm.

So far it must seem doubtful whether we have anything before us but materials for poetry, as to which, judging from their own appearance, we could not say whether they contain any real facts, or are purely fictitious. We now come to our author's view of them. M. Kruger believes that he can identify Firdusi's hero,

[1] The name منوچهر occurs again, more than 2000 years later, as that of the son of Kabus, who, after the extinction of the Samanid dynasty, reigned in Ghilan, Tabristan, and Kirkan (Hyrcania), and married a daughter of Mahmud of Ghazni.—Mirchond, *App. ad Hist. Saman.* ed. Wilken, c. 20. His dominions thus appear to have been the very theatre of the campaigns of the ancient Minutshehr.

Minutshehr, with the founder of that Assyrian dynasty which is stated by Herodotus to have borne rule in Upper Asia for 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. He believes this to be the same personage who elsewhere appears under the name of Ninus, of Calah (as founder of the capital so called), and of Ashur-da-pal-il, or Sandapal, in Sir H. Rawlinson's newly discovered list of Assyrian kings. On the other hand, he has satisfied himself that the land of Selm is no other than the Kingdom of Tantalus, comprising not only the whole of Asia Minor, but Syria and part of Northern Africa, with the ancient Sipylus for its capital. But the sovereignty of this Selm dynasty extended (as he undertakes to show) much further west, if not to Italy, at all events to Greece, which acknowledged a kind of feudal dependence on the house of Tantalus. The victorious arms of Minutshehr forced the son of Tantalus to evacuate his Asiatic provinces, and retire to Greece, where, by a series of conquests, he established his direct dominion not only in the peninsula to which he gave his name, but in the north. But this new settlement of Pelops gave rise to fresh contests between his descendants and their old Assyrian enemies. The Assyrians, still bent on aggression, not content with the stronghold in which they had placed a governor called Dardanus, built the new town of Ilion, an "Assyrian Sebastopol," and "standing menace" to the Pelopid princes. From this point they continued to infest the coasts of Greece by piratical excursions, until the common sense of insult and danger united all the Grecian chiefs, under the command of Agamemnon, in the expedition against Ilion. The auxiliaries sent by the Court of Assyria

enabled the city to sustain a long siege, and would perhaps have finally triumphed, if the Greek stratagem of a feigned retreat had not induced them to withdraw; and, before they could be reassembled, the besiegers had left the "Assyrian Sebastopol" a smoking ruin.

It can hardly be denied that, if the absence of poetry were equivalent to the presence of historical truth, this narrative of the causes which led to the Trojan War would have a fairer claim to credit than the preceding summary, dry as it is, from the Shah-nameh. But while in this respect they really stand on exactly the same level, the one offering no better internal evidence than the other, it will have been seen that they are most intimately connected with one another in our author's view, and with respect to that must stand or fall together. And we have to consider, first the process by which he identifies the Shah Minutshehr with the founder of the Assyrian dynasty in the thirteenth century B.C., and then the nature of the superstructure which he rears upon this basis. But it may not be out of place here to observe, that nothing can be less warranted by the language of Firdusi himself, nothing more clearly foreign to his conception of the events which he relates, than the combination just described between his personages and those of the heroic age of Greece. If indeed his language was to be pressed into a literal construction, the empire of Feridun would have reached from the shores of the Pacific to the heart of Europe; for the share assigned to Tur is described by the names of Tshin and Turkestan; oftener simply as Tshin. That of Selm is said to have been composed of Roum and Khawer, and there is no

doubt that the former of these names comprises the territories subject to the Roman or Byzantine Empire. Khawer, though properly signifying the West, is thought to comprehend some of the regions to the south, including part of Northern Africa. But the Persian poet, writing, it must be remembered, at the Court of the Ghaznevide Sultan, about 1000 years after the Christian era, though he has been praised for his comparative sobriety of fancy, has never been asserted, even by his warmest admirers, to have been wholly free from the Oriental spirit of exaggeration, which indeed is sufficiently conspicuous in all his narratives and descriptions. No doubt he did not trouble himself much about the precise geographical limits within which his story moves. It was enough for his purpose to leave ample scope in every direction for the imagination of his public. But it is certain that he no more thought of Roum as comprising the whole Roman territory, than of Tshin as the whole of China. With what latitude the latter of these names was used by the poet, may be inferred from the fact, that when the forces of Tur and Selm have crossed the Oxus, and Minutshehr advances from Temish, the imperial residence, as it is supposed, in Tabristan, to give them battle, his army is said to have extended its front from the forest of Narve as far as Tshin, certainly very far west of the modern frontier of China. Again, after the death of Tur we hear of a stronghold in Alan-land, a castle of çastles, standing in the sea, containing great treasures, where Selm is expected to take refuge. It is taken by a stratagem before he reaches it; and when he comes to the seashore, he finds no vessel to escape in, but is overtaken and slain by Minutshehr. This

sea is not the Mediterranean, but the Caspian; for when the conqueror returns in triumph to Temish, he is expressly said to come from the sea of Ghilân. And there is nothing to suggest a surmise that the poet himself entertained even the faintest suspicion that Asia Minor was the real theatre of events which he places near the southern shores of the Caspian. But it must be admitted that his omission is amply supplied, or his mistake, if such it be, clearly corrected, by one of the Mahometan annalists in D'Ohsson's 'Tableau de l'Orient,' by whom the partition is described as follows:—"Thus Feridun gave to Selm Asia Minor, called Khawer, and Khorasan to Toor. He bestowed on Iredsh the throne of Istakhar, with all Persia, and with the rights of suzerainty over the two other thrones. Selm established himself at Sarsan or Sardis in Lydia." I must leave it to competent judges to decide whether this witness does not prove too much, and whether his account, or that of Firdusi, bears the plainer marks of a genuine native tradition. But it must be added that, according to the same historian, Minutshehr, after the conquest of Asia Minor, divided it into several departments, some of which he disposed of in favour of the children of Selm, a statement quite as much at variance with M. Kruger's view as those of Firdusi, which however I believe to be much nearer the truth.

I now find myself confirmed in this view by some high authorities, to which I had not access when the preceding remarks were written. Sir H. Rawlinson, in his Memoir on the Early History of Babylonia,[2] observes that the relationship of the Arians, after their

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1855, p. 252.

establishment in Central Persia, to the great nations on their western frontier, is represented by the division of the empire of Feridun between his three sons, Selm, Toor, and Erij." Dr. Haug, in an appendix on the Vendidad, inserted in the last volume of Chevalier Bunsen's great work on Egypt, published this year, considers Selm as representing the land of the Sarmatians; and believes that the partition, as described in the Shah-nameh, points to an ancient historical groundwork. Sir H. Rawlinson indeed identifies the name of Selm with a Semitic word, which he says, in the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, everywhere expresses the "west" or "the setting sun;" and he even believes that the name of Jerusalem signifies nothing more than the "city of the west"; and hence he concludes that the name Selm denotes the geographical position of the Semites in regard to the Arians. All that I would venture to remark upon this is, that Dr. Haug's combination of Selm with the land of the Sarmatians is much more in accordance with all the indications to which I have referred in the Shahnameh as to the proper country of Selm. Chevalier Bunsen observes (vol. vi. p. 97) that the provinces of Ghilân and Mazenderân, with the Caspian (Hyrcanian) passes, formed the core of the Arian possessions, which subsequently comprehended the whole of Media and Farsistan.

It remains to be seen whether Firdusi can be made to serve as an unconscious witness to the fact for which he is cited; and this will mainly depend on the possibility of ascertaining the historical personality, and above all, the time of Minutshehr.

The difficulties which beset this subject are, I be-

lieve, best known to those who have paid most attention to it, and have endeavoured to make their way through them. The late eminent Orientalist, Von Hammer-Purgstall, who, in his own department of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literature, has perhaps hardly left a superior, and probably very few equals,—discussed this question in an elaborate article on the Shah-nameh, in the Vienna *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. ix. 1820, and he arrived at a result widely different from that of M. Kruger. He conceived that the line of sovereigns enumerated in the Shah-nameh is in striking accordance, both as to names and events, with the list of Median kings preserved by Ctesias on the one hand, and with the part of the same succession which has been reported by Herodotus on the other. He identifies Deioces with Djemshid, and supposes that Herodotus passed over Zohak in silence, as only representing a period of foreign, that is Assyrian, oppression, from which the nation was delivered by Phraortes, who thus corresponds in all respects with Feridun, and in name with the Arbaces of Ctesias. Minutshehr indeed, according to this comparison of the lists, sinks from the conspicuous position which he occupies in the Shah-nameh, into a very obscure and insignificant personage, the Mandauces of Ctesias, and, as well as his successors, down to Kei-Kawus, is entirely unnoticed by Herodotus. But as the Shah-nameh relates that, in the reign of Kei-Kawus, Iran was for eight-and-twenty years under the yoke of Turan, this coincidence with the period of the Scythian rule, in the time of Cyaxares I., seemed to Von Hammer to establish the identity of this Cyaxares with Kei-Kawus, and with the Artibarnas of Ctesias, beyond

a doubt. It is remarkable that, though he lays so much stress on this coincidence, he does not take the slightest notice of any other chronological datum of the Shah-nameh. He evidently regarded those of the earlier period as hopelessly unavailable for historical purposes. And at first sight they certainly seem so. When we find a reign of 700 years attributed to Djemshid, 1000 to Zohak, 500 to Feridun, and 120 to Minutshehr, it is natural enough to conclude that such a chronology can afford no materials for historical investigation. But M. Kruger, following D'Ohsson, Anquetil du Perron, and others, points out that this is a hasty inference, and that these portentous-looking numbers may very well be supposed to express the duration of dynasties, which are represented each by the name of a single sovereign; and he undertakes to show that the lists of Assyrian kings fit in so exactly to the chronological framework of the Shah-nameh, as to afford means of recovering particulars in the corresponding portion of Assyrian history.

It would only lead me away from my present object if I were to enter into the details of M. Kruger's computations. It will be sufficient to mention that, starting from the death of Alexander, in 323 B.C., he is brought, by the term of 732 years, uniformly assigned to the Keianian dynasty in all the Persian systems of chronology, to 1055 B.C., as the beginning of that series, or of the reign of Kei-Kobad. In the preceding dynasty, the Pishdadian, which has commonly been considered as almost fabulous, there is a discrepancy in the sum of all the numbers between the chronology of the Shah-nameh and of the Sacred Books, and that of the annalists in D'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Orient*,

amounting to exactly 1200 years. The lower figures of what may be called the profane chronology place the beginning of this dynasty, with Keiomors, in 2308 B.C., and this epoch corresponds with a remarkably close approximation both to the Chinese and the received Mosaic date of the Deluge. The difference of 1200 years falls almost entirely in the periods assigned to Zohak and to Feridun; the 1000 years of Zohak being reduced by the annalists to 130, and the 500 of Feridun to 220. Thus, the reign of Djemshid ends B.C. 1594, that of Feridun, B.C. 1244. According to all the systems, sacred and profane, 120 years are assigned to Minutshehr, or the line represented by his name; and thus the beginning of his reign exactly coincides with the epoch fixed by Herodotus for that of the Assyrian dominion in Upper Asia. (On this I would only observe, by the way, that the exactness of this coincidence depends on a calculation which differs by nine-and-twenty years from that of Niebuhr, Bunsen, and Rawlinson, which the comparison with Berosus seems to render very nearly certain, and according to which Herodotus conceived the beginning of the Assyrian supremacy to date from 1273 B.C. This however is, for our present purpose, of little moment.) If then the conquests of Minutshehr comprehended the territory subject to the Assyrian monarchy, there could be no doubt that he must be regarded as its founder or restorer. The synchronism is, at all events, remarkable, and must be allowed naturally and strongly to suggest the surmise of personal identity. But whether it is sufficient of itself to establish that fact, without any other connecting link between Minutshehr and Sandapal, is another question. Such a

link, however, M. Kruger conceives to be supplied by the Greek lists of Assyrian and Median kings. This is one of the most prominent and peculiar features in his system.

We have already seen something of Von Hammer's attempt to reconcile the Median list of Ctesias with Herodotus and the Shah-nameh. That attempt can hardly be considered as satisfactory with regard to either. A more probable opinion, which seems to have been first proposed by Volney, supposes the list of Ctesias to contain that of Herodotus twice over. For the whole sum of the reigns in Ctesias is only a little more than double of that in Herodotus, and the numbers given by Herodotus very nearly coincide with those which are repeated, with very slight variations, by Ctesias. This opinion has been adopted by Karl Mueller in his edition of the fragments of Ctesias, in the Paris *Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca*, vol. xix. p. 43; and, with some modifications, by von Gumpach, in his instructive work on the 'Chronology of the Babylonians and Assyrians,'[3] where he observes (p. 143): "The repetitions in Ctesias are evidently derived from two different sources, which enumerated the Median kings under different names;" and he exhibits the correspondence of the three lists as follows:—

Herodotus.		Ctesias.			
Deioces	53 yrs.	Mandauces	50 yrs.	Artyras	50 yrs.
Phraortes	22	Arbaces	28	Arbianes	22
Cyaxres	40	Artæus	40	Astibaras	40
Astyages	35	Artynes?	22	Sosarmus?	30
	150		140		142

[3] *Die Zeitrechnung der Babylonier und Assyrier.* (Heidelberg, 1852.)

M. Kruger takes an entirely different course, in which, as far as I know, he has at least the merit of originality. He imagines that the list of Ctesias belongs, not to the period immediately preceding the fall of the Assyrian empire, but to one earlier by many centuries, anterior to the establishment of that empire in the thirteenth century B.C., and intervening between this event and the downfall of the old Assyrian monarchy, founded by the ancient Ninus and enlarged by Semiramis. And it may be right to observe, by the way, that the existence of this ancient monarchy appears now to have been placed beyond a doubt by the discovery of the names of Assyria and of Nineveh on Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth dynasty.[4] The catastrophe by which it was overthrown, M. Kruger refers to the year B.C. 1580, when, as he states, "according to the chronographers, a revolution took place in the Assyrian empire, in which Belochus (who was then reigning) was dethroned by one, Balatoras." This is the revolution of which Sir H. Rawlinson observes, in *The Outline of Assyrian History*, p. 14, that "it appears almost certain that the catastrophe described by Ctesias, and also noticed by Polyhistor in Agathias, refers to the revolt of an officer of the Court named Sargon, who captured Nineveh, and drove out the old family in B.C. 747; this memorable epoch being accordingly adopted by the Babylonians as the basis of their astronomical canon." According to this view, Pul would be the Assyrian monarch who is represented in the list of Ctesias under the name of Belochus. I find another allusion to the same event in Moses of Chorene, who observes (i. c. 19) of the Armenian king

[4] See Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 630.

Aigag, that he is said to have lived in the reign of Belochus, and to have died in the insurrection which he had foolishly excited.[5] In the Armenian list given by Moses Chor. this Aigag is followed by an Ambag, who is contemporary with Balatoras, the successor of Belochus. M. Kruger appears to have found one of these names elsewhere written *Arpag*, which he identifies with the Median *Arbaces* of Ctesias. He considers this *Arbaces* as the founder of a dynasty which was long predominant in Upper Asia, though engaged in a fierce contest with the Egyptian invaders, who are symbolized (as he thinks) by the Zohak (Sevek) of the Persian tradition, as well as with an Arian race which gained the ascendency, until both were reduced under the dominion of Minutshehr. It was remarked some time ago by Mr. Birch, in a Paper with which he favoured the Society,[6] that "no reliance can be placed on the names of the Assyrian monarchs of the first line. What credence, for example" (he asks), "can we give to successions into which are introduced such names as Xerxes (Persian), Sethos (Egyptian), Lamprides and Laosthenes (Greek)? It is in vain that we should endeavour to detach from such a mass the true elements of Assyrian history." Observations to the same effect are made by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Outline*. M. Kruger however has not been deterred from such an attempt. He has an explanation for everything. The list in Syncellus, beginning with Balatoras, was (according to him) drawn up in Babylon

[5] In the Italian translation of the Armenian monks, "Aigag, il quale viveva, dicesi, sotto Beloco, morì nella sommossa stoltamente da lui sollevata."

[6] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 162.

by the priests; and hence the name of Balatoras (the Græcized form of Belasis, the ally of Arbaces in the war against Nineveh) has been substituted for that of Arbaces. The Greek names, Lamprides and Lamproeus—both nearly equivalent to *illustrious* or *glorious*—have also taken the place of the genuine Median names, Mandauces and Artyces. Otherwise, he finds a sufficient resemblance to prove the identity of this list with that of Ctesias; and he believes that by culling from the various lists—from Ctesias, Syncellus and Eusebius in the canon—he can restore the true succession of the kings who intervened between the end of the first Assyrian monarchy and the beginning of the second. And thus he arrives at a result which is certainly curious; for the period filled by these reigns exactly covers the interval between 1580 B.C. (the fall of Belochus) and 1244 B.C. (the date of the accession of Minutshehr); and this seems to introduce another not less striking coincidence. Syncellus has inserted in his Assyrian list four names—Arbelus, Chalaus, Anebus, and Babius—which were placed by Abydenus in the inverted order, at the head of the whole line. M. Kruger finds that the reign of Arabelus ended exactly in 1244 B.C., and that the sum of the years of his three successors (45 + 38 + 37=120) precisely equals the duration assigned by all the systems of Persian chronology to the reign or dynasty of Minutshehr.

And this is not all. For as the Minutshehr period ends 1124 B.C., the sixty-nine years remaining to the beginning of the Keianian line in 1055 B.C., are exactly filled up by the reigns of the four immediate successors of Minutshehr, enumerated in the Shah-nameh:—

Nuder . . .	7 . . .	1124–1117 B.C.
Afrasiab . . .	12 . . .	1117–1105
Sab	30 . . .	1105–1075
Kershasp . . .	20 . . .	1075–1055

Finally, M. Kruger institutes a comparison between the lists thus obtained and the six names which, according to the latest discoveries of the cuneiform inscriptions, begin the series of Assyrian kings:—

Sandapal.
Ashur-da-pal-il.
Mussaghil-Nebo.
Ashur-rish-ipan.
Tiglath-Pileser I.
Ashur-bani-pal I.

And he shows that the third of these, Mussaghil-Nebo, corresponds, both in form and in date, with the Greek Anebus, or, as he may be called, Minutshehr II., leaving the two names, Sandapal and Ashur-da-pal-il, to be accounted for, either on the supposition that both are represented by the single name of Chalaus, or that the first may answer to his predecessor, Arbelus.

I am quite aware how very imperfect an appreciation can have been conveyed, by so brief a notice as that to which I have felt it necessary to confine myself, of the merits of this chronological scheme. I should wish it to be believed that, if in any point it has appeared obscure or defective, this appearance is the effect of that brevity, and would not be found in the author's own statements. But to persons conversant with such inquiries, all such chronological adjustments are apt to create a misgiving, nearly in proportion to the nicety of the results. And Sir H. Rawlinson has observed: "It is an ungracious task to attempt to extract dates from barren catalogues of kings, or to quote the results

obtained from such catalogues by professed chronologers; for even where the numbers come out satisfactorily, we have the consciousness that much is due to manipulation and systematic arrangement. This remark applies especially to the Assyrian canon of Ctesias, and to the use that has been made of it by his followers."[7] I am however content to assume that they have been satisfactorily established; and I only wish to inquire how far they are capable of supporting the historical superstructure which the author has attempted to rear upon them.

It may seem a concession larger than would be sanctioned by a rigorous criticism, if it is admitted that the synchronism which M. Kruger has laboured to establish between Minutshehr and the Founder or Restorer of the Assyrian monarchy in the thirteenth century B.C., would imply the identity of the two persons. But the question is, how far, when this identity is assumed, it may be allowed to throw any new light on the extent of the new Assyrian empire, or warrants the belief that the Assyrian arms were carried to the extreme verge of Western Asia. I need hardly observe how feeble and precarious an argument for such a proposition is afforded by the language of Firdusi, when he speaks of Roum as included in the portion of Selm. But M. Kruger lays great stress on a passage in which the poet makes Selm complain that his father had cast him into the sea, an expression which Görres supposes to signify that the tribes subject to his rule would be forced, when they required more room for their increased population, to migrate to the other side of

[7] *Journal of the Asiat. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 224.

the Euxine and the Mediterranean. Here however I have lighted upon a rather curious example of the importance of verifying quotations. M. Kruger appears to have placed too much reliance on the authority of Görres and Von Schack, who do indeed—the one in his prose abridgment, the other in his excellent metrical version of the Shah-nameh—give the above-mentioned sense to the words of Firdusi. But M. Mohl's translation, which keeps as close to the original as French prose can be expected to adhere to Persian poetry, exhibits one totally different. The words which they render, "One thou didst bind to the dragon's tail," he translates, "One thou hast overwhelmed with the dragon's breath;" and the line which, according to Görres and Von Schack, means "One thou hast cast into the sea," Mohl interprets, "One thou hast exalted to the clouds." Now, it is true that the sense given by Mohl's version of the passage is not satisfactory; for whereas the complaint of Selm and Tur is, that three brothers of equal merit have received unequal portions, that version only describes the manner in which two out of the three have been treated by their father; though, as the three successive lines begin with the same word, "One, one, one," it is quite clear that the poet meant to designate the lot of each of the brothers. Also, it happens that the same Persian word, *dm*, signifies either breath (*dem*), or tail (*dum*); and *ebr* (cloud) has two letters out of three in common with *bhr* (sea). This shows what might have been the origin of this remarkable variation. But I have nowhere met with any intimation of a various reading in the MSS., and Mohl's text throughout this passage, exactly agrees,

as I have ascertained, with that of Turner Macan's edition.

It seems clear however that, even if the interpretation of Görres and Von Schack is correct, it would prove nothing as to the extent of territory immediately occupied. It appears to me that the statements of the chroniclers cited by D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*), under the word "Feridoun," are entitled to quite as much credit as those of the poet, or rather may be properly admitted to explain the ambiguity of his language. D'Herbelot takes no notice of the Shahnameh, but he first reports the account given of Feridun's partition by the author of the chronicle called the Lebtarikh. It is this: Feridun gave to Selm the western part of his territories, which territories extended as far as Africa. The second son, Tur, had the eastern part, as far as the Gihon; and the third, Iredsh, was put in possession of the central provinces, with the prerogative of the royal throne, and the treasures amassed by his father. Another writer, the author of the chronicle called the Tarikh Cozideh, related the transaction, with some variation of the circumstances; and this variation, as reported by D'Herbelot, chiefly affected the geographical question. Feridun, this author said, made a magnificent distribution among his sons: for to Selm he gave the country named Magreb, that is, all the Provinces of the West, whether already conquered, or yet to be conquered, with the title of Kaisar.[8] To his second son, Tur, he gave Eastern Turkey, comprehending the country of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, and all the vast extent of the country of Cathay and

[8] D'Herbelot. "Sar. (Query, Mar?) Titre que portoient autrefois les Princes de Giorgian. C'est un diminutif de Caissar."

China, with the title of Fagfour. The younger was left master of Persia, the two Iraks, Syria, Arabia, and Khorasan, with their dependencies, and took the title of Shah. The third author, Khondemir, related that the smith, Kaweh, or Gao, after having recovered for Feridun all the adjacent provinces which had revolted from Persia under the reign of Zohak, pushed his conquests very far to the West, where he subdued all the nations which did not acknowledge the majesty and power of the Persian monarch, who then resided in Azerbeidjan; a statement, by the way, which agrees better with the descriptions of the Shah-nameh as to the situation of Temish, than the conjecture of Görres, who supposes it to have stood on the Tigris, perhaps at Nineveh itself.

It is hard to believe that one of these writers was really better informed on the subject than another. It was as easy to include the whole of Western Asia in the dominions of Feridun as the whole of China; and the second chronicler, who so greatly enlarges the modest description given by the first, still leaves us in doubt which were the provinces actually subjected to Selm, and which those over which he only received a title which he had yet to make good with the sword. I suspect indeed that M. Kruger himself would not have placed any very confident reliance on the Persian tradition, if it had not been confirmed, as he believes, by the concurrent testimony of Greek history and legend. For with regard to every other point of the story, except the general geographical outline, he supposes Firdusi to have used the largest poetical license. He does not believe any such relation to have existed between Minutshehr and Feridun as the poem describes,—or even as that which is stated in the Bun-

dehesh, where nine generations are interposed, with the names of the successive princes, between Feridun and Minutshehr,—but supposes it to have been a fiction, analogous to that by which Alexander the Great was connected with the Persian dynasty which he overthrew. He does not believe in the personality of Selm: the name of Selm, he says, probably denotes a geographical relation. All that he insists upon is the dry fact, that the fragments into which the old Assyrian empire had been broken up, were reunited about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C., under the sceptre of Minutshehr,—the same conqueror who founded the new capital on the Tigris,—and that the countries designated by the name of Selm, included not only Asia Minor, but dependencies lying beyond the Ægean, and even the Adriatic; and for these facts he appeals to Greek authority. I am thus at length enabled to meet him on more familiar ground; and, on a general survey of the evidence which he has alleged, I am struck with one observation not favourable to his conclusions. The evidence appears to grow more definite and explicit as it is further removed from the time to which it relates. But the only express testimony to the supposed political connection between Assyria and the States on the north-west coast of Asia Minor is that of Ctesias. I must endeavour briefly to explain and justify this assertion. I would premise one remark.

The name of Homer does not occur among M. Kruger's Greek authorities, and for an obvious reason. The Iliad recognizes Pelops as the ancestor of Agamemnon, but makes no allusion to his Asiatic origin. I do not wish to lay any stress on this silence. For though it may seem to afford room for a con-

jecture that the name of Pelops was first carried over from Greece into Asia by the Greek colonists, and then connected with the legends about Tantalus, I am quite convinced that this would be an erroneous view, and that Pelops originally belonged to Sipylus as much as Tantalus and Niobe. And, though Homer is silent as to their mutual relations, the last book of the Iliad does allude to one part of the legend, in a passage on which a very unexpected and most interesting light has been thrown by recent discoveries. For the stone Niobe on Mount Sipylus, which Achilles describes to Priam, turns out to be, not a poetical fiction, but a real sculpture, which is still visible, as it was seen by Pausanias (1. 21. 3). It has now been brought before our eyes by the plate published by Mr. Stewart (*Travels in Asia Minor*). There still sits Niobe, enthroned in a niche hewn out of the rocky side of Sipylus, one hand folded over the other in the lap, and the head leaning on the right shoulder. The whole conception, which is perfectly intelligible, seems worthy of a great artist ; and, as the most ancient monument of Ionian art, it appears to Chevalier Bunsen (*Gott in der Geschichte*, i. p. 283) to confirm his opinion, that the spirit and freedom in which the Assyrian sculptures exhibit such a marked superiority over those of Egypt, were derived from the Ionian school. This Niobe is still "all tears:" for the water trickles, as of old, over the face of the rock,[9]

[9] Νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν, ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν
'Εν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
Νυμφάων αἵ τ' ἀμφ' 'Αχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο
Ἔνθα, λίθος περ ἔουσα, θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει. (Ω. 614.)

These lines are indeed, as appears from the Villoison scholiast, an interpolation, but clearly a very ancient one. The scholiast observes that they have the Hesiodean character.

from the springs of Achelous, by the couches of the Nymphs. And hence there is the less room to doubt the parallel antiquity of the other local monuments connected with the story, seen by Pausanias,—the sepulchre of Tantalus, which he emphatically terms "worth beholding," and the throne of Pelops on the mountain-top. Among these localtraces none is more remarkable than the lake, called by Pausanias the Lake of Tantalus, the origin of which he refers to one of those subterraneous convulsions to which the adjacent region of Asia Minor has been at all times subject, and on account of which the houses of Sardis, as Herodotus relates, were mostly built of reeds, and all thatched with that material. The report of the country was, that the ruins of a city which had been swallowed up by the earthquake had once been visible in the lake (7. 24. 13). Writers cited by Strabo (i. c. 3.) expressly stated that this was the city of Sipylus, which was thus overthrown in the reign of Tantalus. Its overthrow is ascribed by the scholiast on the Odyssey (xi. 581, Buttmann) to the wrath of Zeus. It was one of the numberless legends to be found in all parts of the world, from Ireland to Abyssinia, one of which still lingers in the mouths of the peasantry round Albano, about ancient cities, covered by lakes, and commonly, as there, connected with some story of divine retribution for impious pride such as was imputed to Tantalus. It remains to be seen whether there is any better authority for referring the ruin of the house of Tantalus to a political than to a physical convulsion.

The earliest author, however, cited by M. Kruger in support of his hypothesis is Herodotus. That in

the time of Herodotus the migration of Pelops into Greece was a universally received fact, is unquestionable; but as to the causes of that event, Herodotus is silent; he only alludes to it in a speech which he put into the mouth of Xerxes, whom he makes to speak of Pelops as the subject of his ancestors; on which Mr. Blakesley remarks, that, "in the mind of the authority followed by Herodotus, Xerxes was regarded as the lineal descendant of the Assyrian dynasties." I doubt very much that Herodotus was here following any authority; I suspect that he was only giving a little touch of character. It was natural for Xerxes to treat all the countries which he actually ruled, as having been from time immemorial subject to his predecessors. Another passage of Herodotus in which not only M. Kruger, but other writers have found an indication that the kingdom of Pelops was once a province of Assyria, is that in which he gives an account of the three dynasties which had reigned in Lydia. The first descended from Lydus, son of Atys, who gave his name to the nation. The second had traced its origin to Hercules, through Ninus and Belus, Agron, son of Ninus, having been the first king of this line. M. Kruger says it is clear that the kingdom of Atys means that of Pelops and Tantalus, because, according to Herodotus, Ninus appointed his son Agron as his viceroy, or feudatary king in Lydia.[10] Nevertheless, Herodotus really says no such thing; and not only does he not say this, but what he does say is directly at variance with it. For, according to him (i. 7), the

[10] The same statement is made by Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. p. 97, where the name of Ninyas is substituted, apparently through an oversight, for Agron.

government was committed to the Heracleid princes, by those of the preceding dynasty themselves, in compliance with an oracle. Neither in this passage nor anywhere else does Herodotus give the slightest intimation that he had ever heard of Assyrian intervention in the affairs of Lydia. He afterwards (i. 95) speaks of the Assyrians as having ruled for 520 years in Upper Asia. He may have known much more than he has said. He may have reserved the fuller information which he possessed on the subject for his lost or unexecuted work on Assyrian history.[11] M. Kruger's account of the change of dynasty may be more accurate, but certainly it is not that of Herodotus.

I need hardly observe that it would be vain to look for more distinct evidence of the fact in Thucydides, who, while he assumes the migration of Pelops from Asia as notorious and indisputable, only adds as a probable opinion of the best authorities, that he had established his power in Greece chiefly by means of the treasures which he brought over with him. It is Ctesias who first speaks plainly to the point. He had discovered, during his residence at the Persian Court, that the war of Troy took place in the reign of Teutamus, the twentieth in succession from Ninyas; that Priam, being a vassal of the King of Assyria, applied to him for succour, and that Memnon was sent with

[11] It has sometimes been supposed that an allusion to this work is to be found in Aristotle, *Hist. An.* viii. 18. But the reading Ἡρόδοτος is very uncertain. Some MSS. give Ἡσίοδος, and Bekker has admitted this into his text. Yet it is difficult to believe that Hesiod described the siege of Nineveh. Schöll (*Ueber Herodots Lebenszeit*, in *Philologus*, 1854, p. 209) conjectures that Κτησίας was the original reading, which, having been partly effaced in the earliest MS., was exchanged by one transcriber for Ἡρόδοτος, by another for Ἡσίοδος.

an army composed of 10,000 Ethiopians and as many Susians, or, according to the reading of the Armenian Eusebius (i. p. 88), Nusians, to his aid. Nothing can be clearer, or more to the purpose; and the only question is, how far it is to be believed.

Opinions have been much divided, both in ancient and modern times, on the qualifications of Ctesias as a reporter of historical facts, on the character of the sources of information to which he had access, and on the degree of judgment and fidelity with which he drew from them. Not to speak of Henry Stevens, who vindicated his credit in an express apology, both the modern editors of his fragments, Baehr and C. Mueller, maintain that with regard to Persian history he is more trustworthy than Herodotus. Mueller (p. 5), admitting that in both writers there is much that is fabulous, thinks that there is more of it in Herodotus than in Ctesias. And, as to Assyrian matters, Baehr contends (p. 35) that Ctesias is entitled to at least as much credit as Berosus, or any of the other writers who differ from him in their accounts of the same transactions. In the affairs of Persia and India he might (Baehr thinks) have had motives for exaggeration. But what temptation could he have found to indulge in it as to the early history of Assyria? On the other hand, a later critic, von Gumpach (*u. s.* p. 84), entirely dissents from this view, and observes that, although Ctesias certainly drew from Persian authorities, the very nature of this source required an eminent degree of circumspection and critical sagacity for a proper use of it,—qualities in which, he observes, Ctesias was signally deficient. But Mueller himself cannot go along with Baehr in putting Ctesias

on a level with Berosus. In his opinion the Persian annals consulted by Ctesias were not very ancient, nor translated—as some have supposed—from the Assyrian into the Persian language. And the reason which Mueller assigns for questioning their authenticity, is the mixture of Greek with Assyrian fables which appears to have been contained in them. And the instance which he cites, as the most palpable he could produce, of such a mixture, is no other than the very story which is a main prop of M. Kruger's hypothesis about the famous expedition sent by Teutamus, under the command of Memnon, for the relief of Troy. Sir H. Rawlinson[12] goes still further. He declares that he puts no faith either in the Median history of Ctesias, or in that of Herodotus, so far as regards the Median revolt and the first two kings, Dejoces and Phraortes. He doubts (p. 226) whether Ctesias, "independently of all adjustment of his numbers to the first Olympiad, really placed the era of Ninus at an interval of 1000 years above the Trojan expedition." And he believes "that the many relative dates in the canon of Ctesias, which connect Greek and Assyrian history, were obtained by Ctesias, or his copyists, from the simple calculation of the numbers arbitrarily assigned to the reigns of the kings of Nineveh, as compared with the standard epochal dates of Greece."

But even this opinion is not more damaging to the authority of Ctesias than M. Kruger's own. It should be observed that, if we analyze the statement in question, we find it to contain two distinct elements. There is the synchronism between the reign of Teutamus and the siege of Troy; and there is the event recorded

[12] *Journal of the As. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 244.

under this date. It seems to me that if Ctesias had satisfied himself about the synchronism, he might with perfect good faith have subjoined the historical statement, though he had not found a syllable about it in the Persian archives. He knew from other sources of the expedition led by Memnon to Troy. How (he would reason) could this have been done without the orders of the Great King? And why should he have taken part in the war, if Priam had not been one of his vassals? It was interesting to a Greek thus to point out the real magnitude of the struggle, which Homer himself seemed never to have suspected. The feeling which must have animated Ctesias is curiously illustrated by Moses of Chorene, who, at the end of his first book, having previously passed very hastily over the affairs of Ilion, repeats and enlarges his former statement in these words: "Which can be the most notable of these events, but those which are related by Homer about the Trojan War under the reign of Teutamus, King of Assyria: specially that our Zarmair, who was subject to Assyria, went with a little band along with the Ethiopian army to the aid of Priam? And there he died, wounded by the valiant Greeks. But by Achilles himself, I say, and not by any other hero (*ma da Achille stesso, voglio io, e non da altro eroe*). The not less patriotic Armenian translator—a monk of the Mechitarist community of S. Lazzaro, at Venice—remarks in his note: "And who knows that Zarmair is not the famous Memnon, who came from the East, to the aid of Priam, at the head of the Ethiopian army of Teutamus, King of Assyria? supposing that by the Ethiopians we ought to understand the inhabitants of Colchis, or the Chaldeans of the

Caucasus." On the other hand, I should be quite ready to admit that Ctesias had found the whole story in the Persian chronicles, without believing it at all the more on that account. Ctesias was not the first Greek physician who had practised at the court of Persia. Democedes was probably not less versed in the Homeric poems, and in those of the epic Cyclus, and might well have furnished such a supplement to the royal annals as that which Mueller calls a mixture of Greek with Assyrian fables. But M. Kruger, as I have said, damages the credit of his own witness. For the synchronism, which is at least as credible as the narrative, he utterly rejects. Teutamus, according to his system, was not the king in whose reign the Trojan War took place; and represents, not the Minutshehr, but the Feridun of the Shah-nameh. This seems to me a very arbitrary apportionment of credit; and, if I was obliged to choose between the two, I would rather retain the synchronism, and reject the narrative.

Whatever may be the authority of Ctesias, it is, I believe, the sole foundation which the story has to rest upon. M. Kruger indeed adds what he considers as, if possible, a still graver testimony, proceeding, as he says, from a man who, for his critical judgment, and his familiarity with Oriental antiquity, must be acknowledged as an authority of the first order,—in short, no less a writer than Plato. Plato confirms the evidence of Ctesias to the fullest extent. One of the speakers in the Dialogues on the Laws observes, that the settlement of Peloponnesus made by the Heracleid conquerors, was designed by them as a security against any such aggression of the barbarians as had been committed by the Trojans, when, relying on the power

of the Assyrians, established by Ninus, they provoked the war against Troy. For as at the time of the return of the Heracleids, the Assyrian empire still presented an imposing aspect, it then excited like apprehensions to those which, in Plato's day, were felt, of the power of the Great King. For, he adds, there had been given great matter of complaint in the repeated capture of Troy, inasmuch as it was a part of the Assyrian empire. I do not wish to dispute Plato's title to the qualities which M. Kruger ascribes to him, though they are not those which appear to me so conspicuous as to elevate him into an authority of the first order on such points. But what I question in this case is, the right to produce him as an independent witness. There can be little doubt that he was acquainted with the writings of Ctesias, who probably returned to Greece about 398 B.C., not, as Mr. Clinton supposes, so late as seventeen years after the battle of Cunaxa; and I think it far more likely that he was availing himself of the information supplied by Ctesias, than that he was stating the result of his own researches.

Here however the direct evidence, such as it is, comes to an end. To M. Kruger's mind indeed it is strongly confirmed by the ancient names of Ilus, Assaracus, and Dardanus. For the name of Dardanus he considers as an official title, the Tartan of the Old Testament; Il, or, in the Greek form, Ilus, he regards as the representative of the Assyrian monarchy, and thus is enabled to interpret the building of Ilion and the expulsion of Pelops, both of which are ascribed to Ilus, according to his system, as signifying the Assyrian conquest of Asia Minor, and the founding of a city for the purpose of securing and extending that

conquest. I do not feel convinced even that Ilus and Dardanus are Assyrian names; still less that, if so, they would warrant such a large inference. The hostility between the houses of Ilus and of Tantalus, reported by so many of the later Greek writers, was very naturally supposed to have arisen in Asia, before the migration of Pelops. But the name of Assaracus I fully admit to present a very decided appearance of an Assyrian origin, carrying us back to some kind of connection between Assyria and the western coast of Asia Minor long before the time of Homer. I do not profess to explain the nature of that connection; to say whether it was political or religious, or had only a purely imaginary ground. I leave it to every one to make what he will and can of the fact. But I cannot accept any surmise founded upon it as a portion of real history.

It will have been seen that the Assyrian conquest of the kingdom of Pelops is an integral part of M. Kruger's hypothesis. Without it, his whole story of the Trojan War must fall to pieces. But that conquest might very well be admitted, and yet afford no basis for such a structure as he has piled upon it. In his view, the siege of Troy, provoked by the Assyrian aggressions, was undertaken by the Greeks, as the invasion of the Crimea by the Allies, in self-defence. But the Assyrian conqueror was bent upon the subjection of Greece, because it had been a dependency of the realm of Pelops, who, when expelled from his Asiatic dominions, had established his direct authority in the States which had before only acknowledged his suzerainty, perhaps with little diminution of their practical independence. But if we ask for evidence of this

supposed vassalage, we are transported altogether from historical to mythical ground, and are required to believe that this is the real meaning of the suit and service which Hercules is fabled to have paid to the Lydian Queen, Omphale. The wanderings of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians in Greece, and the Lydian colony in Etruria, are also alleged as indications of the same fact. Such conjectures are alike incapable of refutation and of proof. M. Kruger, in his Preface, speaks of a peculiar organ as needed for the reception of certain ideas; it may be the want of such an organ which prevents me from perceiving the slightest force in this part of his argument.

Authority of a much higher order than that of either Ctesias or Plato seems to me, if not absolutely irreconcilable with this hypothesis, to be at least apparently adverse to it. Whatever else may be surmised with regard to the history of this period, we know of one event which took place in it, and which throws some light on the relations in which the States of Western Asia stood to the Assyrian empire. The first potentate who established his dominion over the Israelites after their settlement in Palestine was Chushan-Rishathaim, King of Mesopotamia. The eight years of his rule over them are placed by M. Kruger between 1231 and 1223 B.C. The Israelites then shook off his yoke, and for many centuries, notwithstanding their internal weakness, suffered no fresh molestation from the same quarter. Chushan is termed by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 3, 2), —who writes his name Chusarthus, — King of the Assyrians, as Ewald observes,[13] only according to a usage prevalent in the age of the Jewish historian; but the

[13] *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 311.

language of Scripture would lead us to suppose that he reigned in the western part of Mesopotamia. M. Kruger feels that the existence of such an independent sovereign in that part of Asia; at the period when he represents the King of Assyria as master of Asia Minor, and as aiming at the conquest of Greece and Italy, would be fatal to his hypothesis. Yet he does not venture to identify Chushan with the victorious founder of the Assyrian empire, but thinks that he may have been a vassal of the Great King, and hints at a resemblance between the name Rishathaim and that of the Persian hero Rustem. I would only observe that even this supposition, arbitrary as it seems, will only shift the difficulty, and not remove it. If it is incredible that the Assyrian conqueror should have carried his arms to the western coast of Asia, leaving an independent and powerful State in Mesopotamia, it is not less hard to believe that the same conqueror, whose successor sent the great army to the relief of Ilion, should have made no attempt to re-establish his dominion in Palestine. This is the point to which I alluded, as one in which M. Kruger has the good fortune to coincide with a much higher authority. Chevalier Bunsen, as I became aware after the preceding remarks were written, has arrived, by a totally different process, at the same conclusion. The depressed condition of Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C., appears to him only to admit of explanation as the effect of the Assyrian ascendency, and to warrant the belief that the conquest of Egypt and Ethiopia, attributed to Semiramis, actually took place at this period. To the same cause he ascribes the reverses which followed the first rapid conquests of the Israel-

ites in Palestine; and hence he infers that Chushan-Rishathaim can only have been an Assyrian satrap of Mesopotamia, which indeed, according to his ingenious derivation, is the exact meaning of the puzzling name. And he further believes, that it could have been only under the shelter of the Assyrian power, that the various neighbouring nations were enabled, from time to time, to reduce Israel under their yoke. Here, no doubt, we have a clear and coherent sequence of events. Still I must own that I cannot feel the same confidence in these conclusions as is expressed by the author. Speaking generally, I cannot repress a little misgiving about the possibility of reconstructing the history of a remote period out of logical inferences; and in the present case I find it difficult to conceive that such an event as the passage of Semiramis through Palestine should have left no deeper trace in Jewish history. Nor am I satisfied as to the probability that the Assyrian power would have been so kept in the background, and that no attempt should have been made to avenge the defeat of Chushan-Rishathaim, and to restore the direct sovereignty of the Assyrian crown. Altogether, the impression left on my mind by the whole tenor of the Sacred History during the period of the Judges, is one which I cannot easily reconcile with the supposition of such a state of things as Chevalier Bunsen describes; and I think it will be safer to wait for some further documentary or monumental evidence, before we consider it as sufficiently ascertained.

It may be disagreeable to remain in darkness, broken by such very faint rays of uncertain light as now fall on the history of Europe and Asia, in their political

relations with one another during the period which has come under our review; but I hold it better that we should resign ourselves to the consciousness of our ignorance, than trust to the guidance offered by such a hypothesis as that of M. Kruger. If we are destined to know anything more than we now do on the subject, I believe it must be by the discovery of new data, not by any new combination of those which we already possess.

I fully agree with most of what has lately been so admirably said by one of the most eloquent of living statesmen, who has devoted his leisure to one of the noblest of literary studies, as to the paramount and peculiar authority of Homer as the exponent of the Greek heroic life. In substance indeed it is what I endeavoured, according to the measure of my far inferior ability, to express and illustrate long ago. But I must leave it to others who are gifted with a faculty, or organ, which has been denied to me, to undertake the operation—one, I must own, scarcely more beyond my powers than it is uncongenial to my taste—of disentangling the golden thread of historic truth, which they believe to run through the poet's web. Be it curtain, or be it picture, I must be content with admiring its brilliant hues and glorious groups of figures as they present themselves to my eye. I cannot pretend to analyze the contents of his magic cup; I can only enjoy the richness of their flavour, as it strikes my unscientific sense, without distinguishing the elements of which they are composed. I leave it to Mr. Gladstone and M. Kruger to settle their respective differences with Chevalier Bunsen, who, on the one hand, while he believes in the reality of the Trojan War is no

less firmly convinced that the earliest date assigned by the Greek chronologers to that event is some centuries too late; and that this, its hitherto unsuspected remoteness, is proved by the character of the Homeric poems,[14] in which Mr. Gladstone sees the clearest evidence both of its reality and of its proximity to the poet's lifetime; and who, on the other hand, asserting with M. Kruger—though, as far as I can see, only on the authority of Herodotus—that the Assyrian dominion was established over the whole of Asia Minor, in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries before our era, infers from this fact that the Trojan War could not have taken place within the same period. When this dispute shall have been composed, it will be time for me, who at present am unhappily embroiled with all three, to consider how I may best make my peace with them.

In the meanwhile I may perhaps be permitted to take this opportunity of observing, that Mr. Gladstone's criticism, in the *Oxford Essay*, on some remarks which I made in my *History of Greece* on the personality of Helen appears to me to miss the point of the question. Homer (Il. iii. 144) introduces Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus, among the attendants of Helen at Troy. I had assumed the identity of this Æthra with the mother of Theseus, and thence inferred that the abduction of Helen attributed to Theseus was known to Homer. No doubt it would have been extremely illogical to assume that identity as a ground for impugning Homer's historical accuracy. But *primâ facie* the presumption is in favour of that identity; nor has it ever been questioned, but on ac-

[14] *Æg.* vi. p. 446.

count of the difficulty of reconciling it with the received chronology of the heroic ages. Mr. Gladstone has a right to reject it, as inconsistent with his theory; but, according to my view of the authority of Homer as a historian, there is nothing to rebut the presumption, and I am therefore bound to admit it. But my argument, drawn from the Attic and Messenian legends of the abduction of Helen, does not depend on that identity, and would be just as strong if the line containing the name of Æthra was struck out of the Iliad. I should still be able to claim the authority of Homer for the antiquity of those legends which Mr. Gladstone is constrained by his theory to treat as of late invention. For just in proportion to the weight of that authority, appears to me the improbability that a story which it was so hard to reconcile, even by the wildest fictions, with that which Homer had made universally current, should have been forged at a later period; whereas, if, as I believe, it sprang up out of the religions of a remote antiquity, it would be easy to conceive that, though keeping its ground in its native soil, it should have remained comparatively obscure and unheeded. How, "as a late invention," it can be "regarded," according to Mr. Gladstone's surmise, "as a witness to the fame of the Homeric personages," I am quite unable to understand. The natural effect of that fame would have been, as it appears to me, to prevent such an invention from occurring to any one's mind.

But to return from this digression. It is possible that future researches among Assyrian or Persian monuments may throw some light even on the historical nucleus of the Tale of Troy. Who knows that some

yet buried stone may not be found to contain a copy of the letter, preserved by Cephalion, in which Priam, after the death of Hector, implored succour from his liege lord, King Teutamus? I should not need it to satisfy me as to the real groundwork of the Iliad. I am convinced that there must have been more than one Trojan War before the earliest Greek colonists gained a permanent footing on the coast of Asia Minor. For I believe that Strabo correctly describes the state of things which preceded that event, when he says that the earlier period was one of continual flux and reflux, of invasions and migrations, between Europe and Asia.[15] That statement, as I believe, contains pretty nearly the sum of all our present knowledge on that head, and it affords an ample framework for that whole world of poetical creations with which it has been filled up. I am not sure that we should be great gainers if their place was to be supplied by more authentic details. But the most unfortunate of all exchanges would be, to substitute for them something which is neither history nor poetry, which can neither charm nor instruct, but wearies only to mislead. Still, I must own that I am not sanguine about the discovery of any monumental evidence which will ascertain the western limits of the Assyrian empire in the thirteenth century before our era. Whenever any such shall have been brought to light, it will need to be very cautiously examined. The material on which events are recorded affords no sure warrant of the accuracy with which they are related. We know of a city where at least one

[15] xiii. p. 572. *Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γνεέσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις συνέβη, τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρμῇ τινι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάκτησιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἦν ταῦτα.*

inscribed pillar "like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies." Rosellini and Bunsen acknowledge and deplore the pompous inanity of the Egyptian monumental style, in which the few grains of real information lie thinly scattered in a vast mass of what is better expressed by a French than an English word—*verbiage*. And Col. Mure remarks:[16] "Much of the amplification that might otherwise have formed the advantage of the Asiatic records consisted of hyperbolical, and probably in great part fabulous, eulogies of the virtues and exploits of the vain-glorious despots who ruled those countries, and who, in furtherance of the same object of personal glorification, were in the habit of expunging or correcting the annals of their predecessors."

The Assyrian monarchs, who took such pains to transmit their achievements to posterity, might easily be tempted to indulge in a little exaggeration about them. As an *argumentum ad hominem* against M. Kruger, I might not unfairly refer to a passage which he himself cites from the Shah-nameh, in which Kei-Khosreu—whom he identifies with the Tiglath-Pileser of the Bible—is made to speak of his kingdom as extending from China and India to distant Roum, and is addressed by one of his grandees as the most powerful of all the princes who had filled the throne, from Minutshehr to Kei-Kobad. This must be quite as authentic as the description of Minutshehr's conquests in the same poem, only we are better able to appreciate the accuracy of the statement. Sennacherib may not have been at all exceeding the bounds of truth, when he boasted (according to Sir H. Rawlinson, *Out-*

[16] *Hist. of the Lit. of Anc. Greece*, iv. p. 331.

line, p. 18) of having "reduced under his yoke, all the kings of Asia, from the upper forest, which is under the setting sun (Lebanon), to the lower ocean, which is under the rising sun (the Persian Gulf)." Indeed, when we remember his campaign in Cilicia, signalized by the building or restoration of Tarsus, this appears to be hardly an adequate account of his achievements. But this language certainly suggests the belief that he meant to claim the glory of having extended the empire in these directions beyond the limits which it had ever before reached; and I find it difficult to conceive that he would have expressed himself in such terms if there had been inscriptions extant in any of his palaces from which it appeared that one of his predecessors had ruled from the Indus to the Ægean. M. Kruger thinks that the provinces west of the Halys were lost to Assyria toward the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. (1119–1105), when the great Lydian monarchy with which Agron had been invested, was enabled, through the weakness of the prince (the Nuder of the Shah-nameh) who followed the last Minutshehr, to assert its independence. But if so, this Lydian kingdom must itself shortly after have undergone some great loss of territory, through causes no trace of which has been preserved in history; for it seems clear that the Greek colonists in Asia Minor did not find it occupying the coast on which they settled; and according to Herodotus their independence was first threatened by Gyges. That the Lydian power had previously suffered any check which compelled it to tolerate the encroachments of the Greeks, appears to have been wholly unknown to Herodotus. His idea plainly was, that it had been constantly grow-

ing. I must however observe, in justice to M. Kruger, that in Castor's epochs of the maritime States, as they have now been elucidated and determined, with admirable learning and acuteness, by Chevalier Bunsen (Æg. vi. p. 439), the naval power of the Lydians, or as it would seem more properly the Mæonians, dates from 1150 B. C. : a date which might very well coincide with the supposed recovery of the national independence.

I will only add two remarks, which may be necessary to guard against misapprehension.

The object of the foregoing observations has been simply to examine the evidence which has lately been adduced to prove the existence of a political connection between Greece and Assyria in the thirteenth century B.C. The result to my own conviction has been to show that the evidence is quite inconclusive. I have also pointed out that there is evidence, quite as well entitled to credit as any that has been produced on the other side, which apparently tends to the opposite conclusion. But I do not mean to deny the fact. I am quite ready to admit it, as soon as it shall be established by satisfactory proof. I only contend that at present it is no more than matter of very questionable surmise. A negative dogmatism on such a subject would be still more presumptuous than a positive assertion resting on insufficient grounds. Mr. Layard has observed,[17] with judicious caution, "To the west the Assyrians may have penetrated into Syria, and perhaps Lydia." If, indeed, we were speaking, not of a permanent establishment, but of a mere temporary inroad, it would be rash to assign any limit to their advance in this or any

[17] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 633.

other direction. There is even what has been accepted by very eminent critics as satisfactory evidence, that the Assyrian arms were carried still further westward in the later times of the monarchy. For in a fragment of Abydenus, preserved in the Armenian Eusebius (i. p. 53), we are informed that the avenger of Sennacherib, Assarhaddon,—there called Axerdis,—after slaying the assassin Adramelech, pursued his army, and shut it up, or forced it to take refuge, in the city of the Byzantians. Niebuhr, in his celebrated disquisition "on the gain which has accrued to history from the Armenian translation of Eusebius," takes no offence at this statement, and reports it as if Abydenus had said that Axerdis had "marched through Western Asia as far as Byzantium, with an army of mercenaries." But this is not quite correct. The fragment first relates the pursuit of Adramelech's army, and then states that Axerdis was the first (of the Assyrian kings) who collected mercenary troops. But as to the march of Axerdis to Byzantium, in the first place, this seems to be more than is distinctly affirmed in the Armenian text,[18] the Latin translation being, "Exercitum persecutus in Byzantinorum urbem includit." The term of the retreat might have exceeded that of the pursuit. But I must own that I cannot help suspecting some mistake in the name of the Byzantians, not on account of the strangeness of the occurrence, or the absence of all confirmative and illustrative testimony, but because the whole account seems to be at variance with the Scripture narrative. Abydenus appears not to have been correctly informed as to the death of Adramelech, who in the Bible is related to

[18] *Kl. Schr.* p. 206.

have escaped, together with his brother Sharezer, (of whom Abydenus takes no notice,) into Armenia. And the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, describes (i. 23) the districts of Armenia which were allotted by the King Sgaiorti for the residence of the two brothers. It would seem to follow that the pursuit must have taken place, and have been arrested, somewhere or other in that direction.

The other remark which I have to make refers to a point on which I touched at the outset. The author of the work which has given occasion to these observations, speaks as if one of his main objects was to help to break down the partition by which the school to which he is opposed has endeavoured to exclude the influence of Oriental culture on the development of the Hellenic mind. But I think it must be evident that the questions which I have been discussing have scarcely any bearing on that controversy. Whether he has succeeded, or failed, in his attempt to restore a chapter in the political history of Greece in the thirteenth century B.C., the result will not affect any view that may be entertained as to the original character of the earliest population of Greece, or the degree in which it was subjected to foreign influences. These are questions which manifestly go back into a far higher antiquity than he himself assigns to the migration of Pelops. According to all accounts, that event affected the relations of the ruling families in Greece, rather than the condition of the people; but it can reflect no light whatever on their previous history. It may be admitted, or rejected, without the compromise of any opinion as to the nature of the elements which composed the Greek nationality, or the

processes by which they were fused together. The author has enriched the controversy about the name of the Pelasgians with a new hypothesis, by which it is derived from the god Bel. But whether we adopt this, or prefer that of a different Semitic root, which connects it more immediately with Palestine, or that which traces it to the Sclavonic, more particularly the Polish branch of that family, or fall back upon a Greek derivation—all which hypotheses have been recently maintained with a great show of erudition[19]—we shall not be the more tied to any conclusion as to the fortunes of Pelops, or the history of the Trojan War. And though every serious attempt to let in a beam of the dry light of historical truth on the heroic age of Greece may awaken a natural and reasonable curiosity, the chief interest of the whole inquiry in which we have been engaged belongs rather to Asia than to

[19] The Semitic origin of the name and people is strenuously asserted by Röth (*Gesch. unserer Abendländischen Philosophie*, i. p. 91, and Notes 17 and 25). His opinion as to the connection between the Philistines and the Egyptian shepherd Philitis, is shared by Bunsen (*Ægypten's Stelle i. d. W.*, iii. p. 49, and v. p. 21), and by Lepsius, to the surprise of Gutschmid (*De rer. Æg. Scrip. H. Græcis*, in *Philologus*, 1855, p. 651), who thinks the conjecture both philologically and chronologically untenable. The Sclavonic hypothesis, which was advocated in very general terms by Dr. Donaldson (*New Cratylus*, p. 90 f.), has been since reproduced, with special reference to the Poles, in a little essay by Jocher, entitled *Pelasgia*. A paper in the same number of the *Philologus* by Moritz Crain, contains an elaborate proof that the name Πελασγοὶ is formed by correct analogy out of purely Greek elements, though not exactly in the way commonly supposed. And see above all the Appendix (2) in Bunsen, *Ægypten*, vi. p. 444; *Die Ionische Urzeit in Kleinasien*, and *Die Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung*, von Ernst Curtius (Berlin, 1855).

Europe; as it is, I believe, only to the East that we can look with a well-grounded hope, however faint, of such an accession to our knowledge of that period, as would enable us in a single point to distinguish with certainty between fiction and reality.

VI.—NOTICE OF THE ANNALS OF GRANIUS LICINIANUS, AS CONTAINED IN A PALIMPSESTIC MANUSCRIPT BROUGHT FROM EGYPT.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read May 5th, 1858.)

In presenting to the Royal Society of Literature a copy of Dr. Charles A. F. Pertz's very recent work, entitled, 'Gai Grani Liciniani Annalium quæ supersunt,' I take the opportunity of making a few remarks upon it.

It will be in the recollection of some of the Members present, that I mentioned in November, 1855, at a meeting of this Society, the discovery of a palimpsestic MS. which had been brought a few years before from a convent in the desert of Nitria, situated to the north-west of Cairo, and lodged with many others in the British Museum; that the MS. itself was written not only in Syriac characters, but also in Latin letters, which contained parts of a Latin Grammar, and likewise fragments of the Roman History of Granius Licinianus, an author scarcely known even by name.

This discovery had been then but recently made by the learned Dr. Geo. Henry Pertz, of Berlin, the father of the editor, whilst he was examining some MSS. in the British Museum. More exact information than this I could not obtain, either at the British

Museum, where I made inquiries, or from some of the able officers of that national establishment who were present at the meeting to which I allude.

The fragments of the "History," or "Annals," or "Fasti" of Granius Licinianus, have since then been made out, and transcribed from that same MS. by Dr. Pertz's son Charles, by whom they are now given to the world in the quarto volume which I have the pleasure of presenting to the Society. All the portions this gentleman has as yet recovered, are fragments of the 26th, 28th, 33rd, 35th, and 36th Books. They are given in *two* Parts; the *first*, nearly as they occur, in large Roman letters, in two columns, each with twenty-four lines in a page; and the *second*, the fragments printed in the ordinary type, as far as the editor could correctly make them out, with the dates of the events described in the margin; and different readings, with some good notes, are subjoined to each page. The work is dedicated to the Trustees of the British Museum; and it begins with a copious Latin preface.

The manuscript is of *vellum*, not papyrus. It is six Parisian inches in breadth, and from $8\frac{3}{8}$ to $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and is numbered in the Catalogue of the Museum, 'Add. MS. 17,212.' It contains some of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, in Syriac, of the eleventh century, and under these, certain chemical tests brought to light two other writings, both of which were more ancient. One of these, apparently of the fifth century, exhibited parts of a Latin Grammar, by an unknown author; and the other, the fragments of the "Annals" written in capital, mostly square, letters, which the editor supposes to be of the second or third century of our era. The orthography appears to be

but incorrect. At the end of the work will be seen a lithographed plate, representing the two columns of the MS., with its triple writing; the passage of the "Annals" there occurring is given at p. 14 and p. 37.

The chemical test which Dr. Pertz used was not, as he says, sufficiently powerful for the full restoration of the lower and most ancient writing, containing the "Annals;" and he recommends for this purpose a tincture which he calls "Giobertina," the chemical formula of which he has added, but which, as it sometimes injures the vellum, he was not permitted to use. Before the discovery of this work, the author Licinianus was hardly known, and his name was not to be found in the 'Biographie Universelle,' or in any of the common biographical dictionaries. The only book in which I have found it noticed, is in the recently published 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' vol. ii. p. 782. The following is all that is there said of him:—"Licinianus Granius, a Latin writer, who appears to have written a work entitled 'Fasti,' of which the second book is quoted by Macrobius (Saturn. lib. i. cap. 16). As Licinianus in his work spoke of a sacrifice offered by the Flaminica, he is probably the *same* person as the Granius cited by Festus (*s. v. Rica*) to explain the meaning of the word *Rica*."

This statement is however not quite accurate, for Dr. C. Pertz writes, that in addition to Macrobius, Servius also, in his 'Commentary on Virgil's Æneid,' mentions him by the names of Granius Licinianus; though some editors seem to write the last name "Lucianus." Both passages are given at length in p. 12 of the editor's preface. But with regard to this historian being identical with the Granius cited by

Festus under the word 'Rica,' as the writer of the before-quoted article from the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography' supposes, it is, in fact, extremely doubtful; for from the passage as cited from Festus by Dr. C. Pertz (p. 13, Pref.), the name appears as 'Gran.' (abbreviated),—not 'Granius.'

The learned editor maintains that Granius Licinianus wrote his "Annals" *after* Sallust, but *prior* to Livy. In the 36th Book, Licinianus says, "Sallusti opus nobis occurrit" (p. 44); and Dr. Pertz thinks that Livy had before him Licinianus's account of the death of Papius Mutilus, which is this,—"Papiusque Mutilus inde fugiens, quum ne ab uxore quidem Bassiâ noctu Teani reciperetur, quod erat in proscriptorum numero, usus est pugionis auxilio" (p. 43),—when he wrote his own, but fuller, description of the *same* event in these words:—"Mutilus, unus ex proscriptis, clam capite adoperto ad posticas ædes Bastiæ uxoris quum accessisset, admissus non est, quia illum proscriptum diceret; itaque se transfodit, et sanguine suo fores uxoris respersit" (Liv. Epit. lib. 89).

Dr. C. Pertz thus characterizes the style of Granius Licinianus:—"Etsi vigorem habet, et jucunditate quâdam impletus est, incomptus tamen atque durus" (p. 15, Pref.); and he considers these fragmentary annals to comprise the history of the years A.U.C. about 509 to 676; or from B.C. 245 to 78; but he believes that the "Annals," when perfect, contained the records from the building of the city to B.C. 45.

I will now briefly call the attention of the Society to four or five passages from these "Annals," which illustrate a few events of much interest.

At p. 33, Granius says, "Rutilius Consul collega Ma-

nili. Hoc anno Cn. Pompeius natus est . . . atque Cicero." These persons were Consuls A.U.C. 649; but the editor states, in the notes 3 and 4, that Velleius and others say that Pompey was born on *September* 30th, when C. Atilius and Q. Servilius were Consuls, *i. e.* A.U.C. 648, or the year before; and that Cicero was born *January* 3rd, A.U.C. 648, in the *same* year. This discrepancy in the years, however, may possibly be thus explained. Cicero was born, as he himself writes, "iii Nonas *Jan.* natali meo" (Epist. ad Att. vii. 5); which, if in the year U.C. 648, was during the Consulship of Atilius and Servilius; but Pompey was not born till *September* 30th, "pridie Kal. Octobres," which,—as the building of Rome dated from *April* 22nd,—would be in the following year of Rome, viz. 649, when, as Granius says, "Rutilius was Consul with his colleague Manilius."

In Book 35, p. 42, the following passage occurs:—"Sene mortuo, *incertum an veneno*, Nicomedes filius succedit." The 'senex' here alluded to is Nicomedes II., who died in the year B.C. 90; and the words, "incertum an veneno,"—"whether by poison or not is uncertain,"—will tend to bring this account from the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography' (vol. ii. p. 1197) into further consideration. Nicomedes II., surnamed Epiphanes, was king of Bithynia; "there appears to be *no* foundation for the statement of some modern writers that he was *murdered* by his son Socrates. (See Visconti, Iconogr. Grecque, ii. 188.)" This Socrates is mentioned in the third line afterwards, and Licinianus adds, "Chrestus etiam quasi *meliore* nomine ab eodem vocatus."

Next, in the 36th Book (p. 42):—"Et Pompeius, an-

nos natus xxv, eques Romanus, quod nemo antea, proprætore ex Africâ triumphavit iiii Idus Martias." Now, the *same* fact is thus related by Eutropius (lib. v. cap. 9):—"Cn. etiam Pompeius (quod nulli Romanorum tributum erat) *quartum* et xx annum agens, de Africâ triumphavit;" but here it will be noticed that Pompey is described as "quartum et vigesimum annum agens," whereas Granius says he was one year older,—"annos natus *viginti et quinque*."

In the same book (p. 44), Licinianus writes, Sulla, "condi corpus jusserat, non comburi, sed L. Philippus cremandum potius censuit, . . . itaque . . . in Campo Romæ sepultus est;" to which Dr. C. Pertz subjoins in a note the like passage from Livy's Epitome (lib. xc.):—"Sulla decessit, honos queei à Senatu habitus est ut in Campo Martio sepeliretur."

And in the last page of Book 36, the Annalist, writing of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), King of Syria (between B.C. 174 and 163), gives this account of him:—"*Simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem*, et cet . . . . epulati . . . . sacro protulissent, causatus è mansis? . . . . *tulit ei dotem* ex . . . um quem unum omnium *Deæ donis* reliquit" (p. 46). To this the editor in his note (3) adds: "Cfr. 2 Maccab. cap. i. 14."

And for the sake of a comparison of the Biblical and Licinianus's records, I here cite verse 14 of the chapter referred to in Maccabees:—"For Antiochus, as *though he would marry* her (Nanea), came into the place, and his friends that were with him, to receive money in name of *a dowry*." They thus appear to be remarkably parallel, notwithstanding that the Annalist's statement is imperfect.

The Hierapolis which he there names was the chief town in Cyrrhestica, in the north-east of Syria, not far from the Euphrates. It was the principal place for the worship of Atargatis, or Astarte, who may very probably be identified with Nanea mentioned in that chapter of Maccabees; and whom, as Stackhouse observes, some suppose to have been Venus, but others Diana; and in support of this latter goddess, I will refer to two passages from Lucian. This writer, in chapter 1, 'De Deâ Syriâ,' names the town as Hire only, *i.e.* Ἱρή, meaning *sacred;* there, according to Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 19), "prodigiosa Atargatis . . . colitur."

Now it is generally considered that Atargatis and Astarte are the *same;* and in the fourth chapter, 'De Deâ Syriâ,' Lucian explains that he "thinks Astarte to be Luna;" or, in his own words, Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι,—consequently, this Selenæa, or Luna, or Astarte, may be identified with Diana.

This then is evidently a passage of great interest; and, although fragmentary, it is still worthy of a fuller comparison with the narrative contained in the Second Book of Maccabees.

I will not take up the time of the Society by offering any further remarks on these recently recovered "Annals," but hope that other palimpsestic manuscripts now lodged in the British Museum, may, when carefully examined, be found to contain the remaining lost books, or indeed an entire and more legible transcript of the Roman History by Granius Licinianus.

JOHN HOGG.

VII.—GUSTAVUS III. OF SWEDEN.

BY DR. ERNST HERRMANN.

(Read February 8th, 1858.)

We cannot attentively consider the history of European nations and of their rulers without perceiving that the long chain of events which connects the present with past ages, and with the misfortunes as well as the crimes of our forefathers, has considerably influenced the destinies of this generation. It is a melancholy fact, observable in the history of nations, that an individual is often utterly unable to ward off the evil consequences resulting from the crimes of his predecessors; while, at the same time, the impressions his mind has involuntarily received in childhood impede the free exercise of his will, and incapacitate him from controlling the conflicting and discordant elements of the society by which he is surrounded. The life of Gustavus III. of Sweden affords a striking proof of the truth of this statement, considered, as he justly deserves to be, among the most remarkable of the many remarkable princes who flourished in the eighteenth century. In the early part of his reign he excited the astonishment and admiration of his contemporaries by the boldness and success with which he accomplished a revolution, which probably saved

his country from half a century of struggles between the nobles and the democratic party.

Amongst those of his own rank who followed the French school of philosophy, Gustavus III. deserves to stand next in order to Frederick the Great, Catherine II., and Joseph II. He displayed military talents of no mean order during the war of 1787, in which the Russians, Austrians, and Turks took part, and proved himself no unworthy descendant of such of his ancestors as had been most distinguished for valour and courage. Yet just as he appeared in the lists as a knightly champion prepared to defy and oppose the mighty power of the French Revolution, which was then shaking all the governments of Europe to their foundations, his career was abruptly terminated by a violent death.

What, however, renders the history of this prince so worthy of our attention is the fact, that we discern in him not only great and admirable qualities, but that from the consideration of his still greater faults, much instruction may be derived. Thus, for instance, many of the brightest pages in his history are obscured by his singular want of firmness. Such was the versatility of his genius, such the activity of his mind, that many and strangely opposite characteristics, rarely, especially in the men of the eighteenth century, united in one and the same individual, occur, in him, strongly contrasted. Like Joseph II. he felt in what respects his age was deficient, and foresaw the instability of the new order of things which was springing up; yet at the same time he wanted the firmness of character which alone was calculated to ensure the lasting prosperity of newly-formed institutions. Neither was he capable

of following the noble example of self-denial set him by his great uncle, Frederick II., who invariably sacrificed his private interests when they interfered with those of the State.

Like Catherine II. he paid homage to outward appearance, although he did not, like her, rule over a people accustomed to a blind and implicit obedience: like her, too, he professed to follow the shallow and superficial doctrines of Voltaire; but, while she combined vanity and love of pleasure with the noble desire of emulating the greatness of bygone ages, Gustavus, on the contrary, whose ambition was indeed insatiable, and quite incompatible with the means at his disposal, may rather be said to have exhibited the character of an adventurous knight-errant, with a mind perpetually at war with itself, and altogether wanting in stability of purpose. Hence it was that he perished at last in a tumultuous contest, of which he had been the chief exciting cause. Yet, in spite of the errors which tarnish the latter part of the career of this revolutionary monarch, we cannot but acknowledge that his was a nobly-gifted nature, unfortunate in this chiefly, that his passions were too often permitted to master his better judgment. Let us not, however, too hastily pass an uncharitable sentence on his faults, but rather deplore the frailty of human nature, and the unhappy destiny which too often implicates an individual in the crimes of a corrupt and vicious age, and drags him down to the level of its own degeneracy. It is, alas! most rare to see a man endowed with strength of mind and firmness of purpose sufficient to enablehi m to walk boldly forward on higher ground than his fellow-men, and at the same time to raise their tone

of moral feeling to the same high standard as his own.

In order to form a correct estimate of so peculiar a character as that of Gustavus III., and to understand the motives by which he was actuated, it will be necessary to say a few words about the different epochs of Swedish history immediately preceding this period. We need only glance at their most prominent features, for the history of Swedish politics in the eighteenth century is not a pleasing one, and would besides be foreign to the subject of this Paper. Nor do I wish to weary my readers by an account of the endless succession of trivialities which then engrossed men's minds; my sole object being to exemplify a rule which will be found generally applicable to history, and which we shall do well to bear in mind, namely, that it is *always* a man's own fault, and invariably the result of a culpable weakness in his character, when he succumbs to the baneful influence of external circumstances, and is at last vanquished by them. A sad instance of the truth of this statement will be seen in the history of the prince whose character we are about to consider.

The middle of the eighteenth century, the period in which Gustavus III. was born, was a time in which troubles and dissensions were rife, and more so in Sweden than in the other countries of Europe. Though Gustavus Adolphus had won for himself immortal fame, he had not been able to transmit this glorious inheritance to his Swedish nobles, whose principal characteristics were paltry ambition, an overbearing demeanour, and a misplaced and beggarly pride. It would seem as if their heads had been turned, and

that they had lost all power of self-control since this sudden change of fortune which had raised the hitherto obscure Swedish nation, during the Thirty Years' War, to a high rank in the scale of European powers. But in no nation has the uncontrolled exercise of aristocratic power, and the abuse of monarchical prerogative, been followed by a more speedy and violent reaction than in Sweden. During the minority of Christian, and also during that of Charles XI., when the Government was carried on by a regency, the nobles had begun to arrogate to themselves the most oppressive prerogatives, at the expense and to the detriment of the lower orders. They bore little or no part of the burdens which weighed so heavily on the burghers and peasants, and had besides appropriated the greater portion of the Crown lands. The misery of the lower classes was still further increased by fresh taxes imposed on them in consequence of the unfortunate and expensive war by which the Elector of Brandenburg disturbed the hitherto unbroken peace of Sweden. This state of things could no longer be endured, and thus it happened, as we shall see, that the tyranny of the nobles paved the way for an unlimited monarchical despotism. The same causes which had brought about the Danish revolution, twenty years before, induced the three Lower Estates of Sweden, in 1680, to invest their King, Charles XI., with dictatorial powers. They passed the following resolution:— That the King was not in future to consider himself bound to adhere to any pre-existing forms of government; that the hitherto all-powerful Diet was henceforth to submit implicitly to the will of the monarch, and that the latter was to look upon the kingdom as

his own private property, an inheritance bestowed on him by the Almighty, to whom alone he was bound to render an account of his actions. Henceforward the divine right of the King to exercise absolute power was inculcated as an article of religious belief; it was taught from every pulpit—texts of Scripture were adduced and commented upon to prove that monarchs should possess unlimited control over the very lives and fortunes of their subjects. Strict injunctions were given that the same doctrine should be taught at all the public schools and universities, and, to crown all, it was added that the King himself had *no right* to restrict his own powers, just as, at a later period, the same assertion was made with regard to the Estates of the Realm, when it was declared that *they* had no power of renouncing their own rights, even by their own decrees!

Charles XI. acted up to the full extent of the powers conferred upon him. It is true that he did not entirely do away with old forms, but he allowed them only a nominal existence, and made them subservient to his own purposes, using them as a mantle to cover his despotic designs. His principal object was the extension of the possessions of the Crown. By asserting groundless claims, and making use of sophistical arguments, the Crown appropriated much to which it had no right, and which had never belonged to it. Hundreds of families were in consequence reduced from affluence to poverty, but Charles accomplished his purpose,—he humbled the power of the Swedish nobles and replenished his coffers. His son, the young hero Charles XII., had the army and the finances entirely under his control, but he of the *iron head*, as the

Turks called him, was destined to pay dearly for the reckless temerity with which he pursued his mad career. Throughout a life chequered by reverses, he pursued a shadow, the vain phantom of military glory; but his object being the gratification of his own personal ambition, and not the good of his country, he brought it to the very verge of ruin, till at length he fell, there is little doubt, not by the hand of the enemy, but by that of an assassin.

After his death, another political change took place, no less violent than that which had happened in the reign of Charles XI. Ulrica Eleonora, the younger sister of Charles XII., *purchased* the Crown at a meeting of the Diet for herself and her husband, Frederick of Hesse, by an unworthy cession of her most important hereditary rights. This acquisition she made to the prejudice of her nephew, the young Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein, who had a prior claim. The Government of Sweden, by the decrees of this Diet of 1720, became an aristocratical democracy;—of all forms of republicanism the most objectionable, and which, even in Poland, that worst of all republics, could not have been surpassed. The indulgence of Charles XII.'s passion for war had already cost Sweden some of its finest provinces; it had lost Livonia, Esthonia, and a part of Pomerania. After his death, while a so-called period of freedom lasted, it entirely lost its independence, and became the toy of foreign powers,—of France, Russia, and England. Two rival parties, distinguished by the names of *Hüte* and *Mützen* (Hats and Caps), each betrayed in turn their country's interests. The Ritterhaus, or Council of Knights, whose decisions had great weight, and whose

deliberations were carried on with the strictest secrecy, was principally composed of poor and half-ruined noblemen, who were ready to sell their votes either for French or Russian money. These shameful transactions acquired public notoriety, when, in 1741, at the instigation of France, Sweden became involved in the senseless Finnish war. The whole of Finland would doubtless have been permanently annexed to Russia, had not the weak-minded Empress Elizabeth been persuaded to resign her doubtful claims, on condition that her cousin, Duke Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, should be declared heir-presumptive to the Swedish throne. From this time the royal power became daily weaker in Sweden; in fact, that it was scarcely more than nominal was plainly shown by a decree passed by the Senate in 1755, in the reign of the above-mentioned prince, the father of Gustavus III. (who was born in 1747). This decree, to which the King was obliged to submit, was to the following effect:—"That for the future, in all cases, without exception, in which the King's sign-manual had hitherto been required, it might be replaced by a stamp, if His Majesty refused to sign after the first or second request of the Senate." The King's income was at the same time greatly reduced, and he was allowed barely sufficient to defray his necessary expenses. He was not even permitted to choose his own attendants, and hardly dared to dismiss those who had given him cause of displeasure. The high-spirited but imprudent Queen, Louisa Ulrica (sister of Frederick the Great), attempted in 1756, with the aid of the *Mützen* party, to free the royal family from this galling yoke; but she was unsuccessful, and the only result was a

still more humiliating state of dependence. A Court of Commissioners was formed, to try the principal promoters of this plot. Its proceedings were characterized by a terrible severity worthy of the Inquisition, and unfortunately but too common in political as well as religious tribunals. Count Eric Brahe, Baron Jacob Horn, and five noblemen of inferior rank, were publicly executed on the "Ritterholm." Baron Eric Wrangel and Count Horn saved themselves by flight. The Queen herself was subjected to the most humiliating insults. By a new regulation, the weak King Adolphus Frederick was excluded from having any share in the appointment to public offices, which were only filled by the friends of the dominant party. They adopted the maxim propounded by the Bishop of Abo, at a session of the Diet, "That it was contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom to assert that the Estates of the realm could do wrong;" but yet, so insecure did they feel themselves, that they deemed it expedient to forbid, under the severest penalties, the expression of any opinion blaming the assumption of the supreme authority by the Diet.

Such was the state of affairs during the childhood of Gustavus. He was at this period nine years old, and even at that early age he suffered from the effects of these tyrannical measures. His tutors, to whom he was much attached, were dismissed, and replaced by others, and so great was the grief which the young prince felt on this occasion, that he fell ill. We quote his own words, from a manuscript found among his papers after his death. "They placed in their stead," he wrote, "persons who, although they might be competent to instruct a young prince in all the requisite

branches of education, were deficient in one essential qualification,—they knew not how to win the confidence of their pupil. My parents were obliged to consent to this arrangement. I was prejudiced beforehand against these new tutors to such an extent, that I made a point of doing exactly the contrary of what they told me. Consequently I did not profit as much as I ought to have done by their talents and acquirements, and I sincerely thank Heaven that I was not completely spoilt by this desultory sort of education."

These conflicting influences tended to develope the character of Gustavus at a very early age. He soon became an adept in the art of concealing his sentiments, while he gave proof of those qualities which are so invaluable in forming and carrying out great plans, viz. undaunted courage, combined with great caution and reserve. To these, as he approached manhood, were added other qualities better calculated to attract the admiration of the multitude, and to win over his opponents.

The faction of the *Hats*, after having been long uppermost, was ruined at last by imprudently involving Sweden in a seven years' war, under the influence of foreign persuasion. But the evils caused by the irresponsible sway of this party were not remedied after their downfall by their rivals of the opposite faction of the *Caps*. The oppressive and ill-advised measures which they took to raise the value of the depreciated paper currency, and to meet the financial exigencies, failed in their object;—a general scarcity followed, and the sufferings of the people increased their discontent to such a degree, that the desire for a change of government, which had begun to be felt

during the last few years of the reign of Adolphus Frederick, was now openly expressed.

The time had arrived to put an end to the despotism of the nobles, and to restore in some degree the power of the monarch. The Crown Prince, in the meantime, with far-sighted policy, was quietly and silently contemplating such a change, and peparing for it. We find the following remarks in his journal, dated October 18th, 1768:—"I am placed in a very difficult situation. I am obliged to use as much caution in every action of my private life, and even in my intercourse with my parents and my wife, as other people observe in their public conduct. This state of things is unnatural at my age. Anarchy has reached such a pitch, that nothing now is held sacred, and a neighbouring power, which, from its very situation, is the natural enemy of Sweden, is now exercising the most arbitrary and despotic influence over the lives and destinies of the best citizens of the State. Fortunately I am not of a disposition to give way under difficulties. Were I to follow my own inclinations, I should certainly retire from the turmoils and intrigues of this distracted Court, and pursue my studies in tranquillity. But I have duties to perform towards my country. The assurances I have received that France will support the cause of monarchical power, which assurances are based upon a reliance on my firmness;—the misery of the Swedish people, the impossibility of remedying those evils otherwise than by a complete revolution, the timid and vacillating policy of the King and of his Government, all these causes tend to prevent me from enjoying the repose I long for." He expressed himself nearly in the same terms in a letter

to Count Creutz, then Swedish Ambassador at Paris, dated October 30th, 1768:—"There is but one means of effecting our purpose, and of delivering the country, and that is by restoring the power of the King to its former condition." The last Imperial Diet which was convened during the reign of Adolphus Frederick showed plainly that it did not intend to take any steps towards forwarding the necessary work of reformation; nothing therefore was to be expected from this quarter.

When the sudden death of his father, on the 12th of February, 1771, placed Gustavus on the Swedish throne, the young prince lost no time in proving that he was well qualified for the task he had set himself to accomplish. He was then absent from Sweden on a foreign tour, and was visiting the capital of France,—for this had been one of the dreams of his youth, on the fulfilment of which he had set his heart. He had received thence many flattering communications from those distinguished authors whose works he had eagerly perused, and who were delighted to find that he valued the enlightened ideas of the new French school of philosophy. Count Creutz, who was himself a poet, had written to him to the following effect in 1763:—"Voltaire assures me, Prince, that you are held in much esteem in the literary world. The old man actually shed tears of joy on hearing that your Royal Highness knew the 'Henriade' by heart. 'I wrote this poem,' said he to me, 'for the instruction of princes, but I little thought that the seed I had sown would bear fruit in such a northern climate. Old and blind I am already, and if what you tell me is true, I shall die happy, confident that fifty years hence I

shall have no detractors left in Europe.'" Hume, the English philosopher and historian, with whom Creutz had also become acquainted in Paris, said to him, "that he was curious to see a queen who was a philosopher, and a young prince who, at the age of sixteen, preferred reading useful and instructive works to those of a light and trifling character."

It appeared to be the young King's earnest wish to fulfil the high expectations he had raised, and to live only for the good of his subjects. During his residence in Paris he was frequently warned by his friends and advisers against the danger of being dazzled and led away by the vain show of pomp and luxury, and they entreated him to beware of giving any occasion to his enemies to asperse his character, and injure him in the estimation of his people. Gustavus took these friendly counsels in good part; he made many fair promises, and acted his part so well, that he completely set at rest all the fears which were entertained by different classes of his subjects with regard to the conduct of the new occupant of the throne. On the 15th of May he inconsiderately signed the "Act of Assurance" presented to him by Lieutenant-General Baron Scheffer. By this act he swore to respect the Constitution of 1720, and to consider as his personal enemies, and traitors to the State, any persons who should openly or secretly connive at the re-establishment of monarchical authority. The speech which he made at the opening of the Diet at Stockholm, on the 21st of June, was most peaceful and conciliatory; he again professed his respect for the Constitution, and concluded with these words:—"Born and bred as I have been among you, I have learned from my childhood to love my country,

and to consider it as my greatest privilege to bear the name of a Swede. My most earnest wish is to reign over a happy people, and the highest object of my ambition is to be the first citizen of a free state. I am convinced that neither extravagant expenditure nor the exercise of arbitrary power, nor yet paltry economy, nor burdensome taxation can conduce to the happiness of a nation, in which concord and patriotism are wanting. Upon you, therefore, it depends to become the happiest people in the world. Let the proceedings of this Diet be ever remembered in the annals of our country, and let all disunion and discord be now sacrificed to the interest of the public. I shall do all in my power to accomplish this end, to conciliate differences, and promote concord, and in the hope that this session may be a prosperous one, I now earnestly invoke upon you at its opening the blessing of the Most High."

But fine-sounding words were of little avail in subduing the obstinate self-will of a determined body of men, who relied upon their political strength. Gustavus knew, full well, that he would be obliged to have recourse to violent measures, and such measures he adopted accordingly. One year and a half after his accession, on the 19th of August, 1772, he accomplished the revolution which he had long meditated, and which had become an unavoidable necessity. His preparations had been so admirably made, and with so much prudence, foresight, and caution, that in less than two hours, and without one drop of blood being shed, he had gained his object, and made himself master of Stockholm, with the help of the small number of troops who were quartered in the capital. There were but few arrests made, and the members of the

Diet and the ministry were soon restored to liberty. Wherever the King showed himself, he was greeted with shouts of joy; the women crowded round his horse, kissed his feet, and made their children do the same. The revolution met with the approval of the whole nation.

On August 21st the members of the Diet were summoned to assemble in the Castle, which was surrounded by troops. The King received them seated on his throne, and with the silver hammer of Gustavus Adolphus, he gave the signal for silence. Then, in an impressive and memorable speech, he depicted in eloquent language the misery into which the Swedish nation had been plunged by the quarrels of the different factions, the low estimation in which it was now held by foreign nations, and the utter want of union in the Councils of the State. He concluded with these words: "You are mistaken if you imagine that my conduct is aimed against the laws and against freedom. I have sworn to reign over a free people, and I am not unmindful of my oath. I did not take it under compulsion, but in accordance with my deliberate convictions. It is my wish that freedom should flourish, while anarchy is abolished; that the laws should be respected, while tyranny is crushed! May all Swedes henceforward be free and happy! The objects I propose to myself in reigning over you are to enforce the observance of the laws, to protect the property of my subjects, to encourage honest industry, and the maintenance of good order throughout the land; to promote in every way the public good, and to obtain for my country the blessings of peace and tranquillity. If you are animated by the same sentiments, we may hope that the Swedish

name may soon regain its former lustre, and that our glory and prosperity may excite the admiration of the world. With these objects I have framed the new Constitution which I am now about to lay before you, and to which you will be requested to give your sanction."

Then the King read a solemn declaration, which he had signed, and which he confirmed by oath, to the effect that, having, by this act, re-established the old laws and freedom of Sweden as they existed in 1680, in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, he at the same time voluntarily and solemnly abjured all claims to absolute sovereignty. He then commanded that the new form of Constitution should be read to the assembly. Its principal clauses were,—That the *Ritterhaus*, or Council of Knights, should be deprived of the almost unlimited power it had until then exercised; that the members of the Council of State and the ministry should henceforth be nominated by the King himself, instead of by the States; that their votes should not be considered decisive when opposed to the King's wishes, but should be accepted by him simply in the light of *advice*. The King also assumed the right of fixing the time and place for the meetings of the Diet, which was to deliberate only on such questions as he should lay before it. Finally, while reserving to himself the sole right of declaring war, he pledged himself not to undertake any war of aggression without the consent of the Diet. This Constitution, dictated by a a king who had the power of enforcing its observance, was accepted with universal, though, not in every case, with sincere applause. The day's proceedings were terminated by the whole assembly, and the King with

them, singing the "Te Deum." At five o'clock P.M. the troops and artillery were withdrawn from the Castle, and were sent back to their quarters.

This great triumph, whilst it put a stop to the evils which distracted the country and diminished, perhaps too much, the power of the Diet, left Gustavus at liberty to pursue his own path: and it might have been hoped that his country would now have reaped the advantage of those great talents with which he was so liberally endowed, and which so well fitted him to become the benefactor of his people. It remained to be proved whether he was capable of achieving a still greater victory over his own passions, and whether he would be able to resist the natural inclination to abuse his newly acquired power. He had nothing at this moment to apprehend from the aggression of foreign powers, whilst the politics of the majority of the European governments remained unaltered. And indeed, for the next few years, the best results followed the re-establishment of kingly power, which was exercised at first only for the most laudable purposes. To use the words of an eye-witness, "The reign of anarchy was annihilated by this revolution; but still more was effected by the wise policy of the King, who, by impartiality in the dispensation of favours and rewards to the rival parties, put an end to the discussions which had been the cause of so many crimes and misfortunes. Mutual confidence and friendly intercourse were revived in many families, and between friends and neighbours, who had been estranged by differences in political opinions, now that they were excluded from taking any part in such matters. The offensive appellations of 'Hats' and 'Caps' hence-

forth existed only in the State records." The King, indeed, expressly forbade the use of those names which had so long distinguished the rival factions. A number of new regulations which were shortly afterwards promulgated, proved how well Gustavus understood what was required for the welfare of his subjects. The building called the *Rosenkammer*, and several other prisons, he caused to be demolished, and at the same time prohibited the use of torture throughout his dominions. By another royal ordinance the liberty of the press was restored. No less praiseworthy were the exertions Gustavus made to put a stop to the corrupt and dishonest practices which had impeded the impartial administration of justice during the rivalship of the opposing factions.

But there was one very essential point in which, even during the first year of his reign, he showed a reprehensible weakness. His taste for magnificence and display led him into an expenditure far exceeding the income of the state. In order to augment his revenues, without being forced to call a meeting of the Diet, he established a royal monopoly in brandy in September, 1775. The carrying out of this scheme was attended by so many unavoidable disputes and heart-burnings, that a general feeling of discontent was engendered, especially among the peasantry. Nor was this all, for not only was the tyranny of the government commented on, but the public blamed the King for his conduct in other respects.

His passion for splendid fêtes and pageants, in which he and the young nobles of his Court often indulged, was severely censured. One of these tournaments, held in August, 1776, at Eckholmsund, cost,

we are assured, no less a sum that 400,000 thalers, and a still more magnificent one was held in June, 1777, under the patronage of the King himself, and of his brother, Prince Charles. This extravagant expenditure, so little in accordance with the resources at his disposal, aroused public indignation, while the King did not escape the censure even of his private friends. The Colonel of the Guards, Lieutenant-General Jacob Magnus Sprengtporten, who had borne a prominent part in the revolution of 1772, was one of the first to break with him. He had retired indignantly from public life, actuated by perhaps too keen a susceptibility of character, but, in the bitterness of his spirit, he continued, from the depths of his retirement, to pester the King with letters of advice and memorials of grave import. On one of these occasions he addressed the King in the following terms:—"If your Majesty desires to escape the just reproaches of posterity for having abused the trust which the nation, in good faith, placed in you, it is high time that you should alter your *façon d'agir*, that Sweden may look forward to a more hopeful future than seems at present in store for her. Your Majesty is accused of having acted with so much duplicity, that very soon you will not have one faithful friend or servant left. Your Majesty's partiality for young men and for favourites has been the cause of so many breaches of discipline, that it has drawn upon you, if I may venture to use the expression, the contempt of many people. An equally unfavourable impression has been made by your Majesty's inordinate love of theatrical amusements, of pomp and show, and every kind of frivolous diversion. It is feared, and not without reason, that your Majesty de-

sires to make the Swedish nation conform in manners and conduct to certain foreign nations whose disposition is so essentially frivolous, that they prefer vain parade and glitter to all that is just, right, and useful."

These candid and well-meant representations did not produce the desired effect. It is true that the session of the Diet which was held in 1778 was a peaceable one, for the King asked for no supplies of money; the French subsidies he received obviated the necessity for his doing so, and, in consequence of this forbearance, the public were willing to overlook the unpopular actions of the last few years in consideration of the great benefits which he had been the means of procuring for them. But in the interval which elapsed between the close of this Diet, the first which had been convened since the revolution, and the meeting of the next one, in 1786, the weak points of Gustavus' character became more conspicuous, and his faults were increased by indulgence. Domestic troubles, as well as political embarrassments and misunderstandings which daily assumed a more serious aspect, were the lamentable consequences of his unbridled pursuit of pleasure. His union with Sophia Magdalene, a Danish princess, had never been a happy one. The match had been arranged shortly after the birth of Gustavus by the then dominant faction of the Hats, though contrary to the wishes of his parents. Notwithstanding his hereditary dislike to the royal family of Denmark, Gustavus, as the time fixed upon for his marriage approached, considered himself in duty bound to sacrifice his personal inclinations for the good of the state. His mother was at no pains to conceal the aversion she felt for her daughter-in-law. The young Queen, though

of a quiet, gentle disposition, unfortunately had not the gift of captivating the affections of her husband; she had neither sufficient talents nor sprightliness to please him, while, on the other hand, the excesses in which he indulged contributed to a mutual estrangement, which daily became more visible. The unjustifiable conduct of the Queen-mother at the time of the birth of the Crown-prince, led to a permanent rupture between her and her son. This quarrel was the source of unhappiness to both parties. Louisa Ulrica, in spite of her faults, was in many respects an estimable woman; she was devotedly attached to her son, as was Gustavus to his mother. Yet such was the nature of their differences, that it was quite impossible that any sincere reconciliation could take place between them, or that there could be any renewal of their former intimacy.

The immoralities by which Gustavus estranged the affections of his family may be attributed in great measure to the weakness of his religious impressions and the unsoundness of his religious belief. With him, as with many of his contemporaries, especially among the higher classes, superstition took the place of religious faith. There are not wanting proofs that he was in frequent intercourse with Cagliostro, the *High-Priest* of those impostors who pretended to the power of holding communication with the world of spirits, and that he was on terms of intimacy with others who professed the same arts, and carried on their mummeries at the Court of Stockholm. Not only the King, but many of his courtiers and Prince Charles were under the influence of the same delusions. The affairs of the kingdom, both internal and external, suffered

from these causes and from the influence of those men who, from their official position, should have shared with the King the responsibilities of public business: hence, in his anxiety to control the destinies of the world, Gustavus too often neglected the interests of his own country. His journeys into foreign lands cost mints of money. In 1777 he had paid the Empress of Russia a visit in her capital, and in 1780, on the plea of health, he had travelled to Spa and Aix-la-Chapelle.

The large subsidies he was still receiving from France he applied to the purposes for which they were intended, viz. in putting the country in a state of defence, and especially in augmenting the navy. He was longing impatiently for the time in which he should be able to prove to the world his military talents. The events which had taken place in 1783, one of which was the seizure of the Crimea by Russia, promised to give him an opportunity of gratifying his desire. He had been meditating an attack on Denmark and Norway. But when, through the weak policy of Joseph II., and partly on account of the exhausted state of France, peace was unexpectedly re-established in Europe,—a peace of which the terms were very favourable to Russia,—Gustavus was unwillingly forced to abandon his schemes for the time. To console himself for this disappointment, he undertook a journey to Italy in September, 1783. Whilst at Venice, he received a letter from Catherine II., which, though couched in terms of playful raillery, showed clearly enough her determination to oppose the wild projects of her ambitious neighbour. "It is reported," she wrote, "that your Majesty is secretly making preparations for the conquest of Norway. Not that I believe a word of it, still less do I

give any credit to another rumour which I hear of your Majesty's intended invasion of my poor possessions in Finland, and of your project to march from thence direct upon St. Petersburg; doubtless you mean to sup there! But as I attach little importance to what is said in conversation, knowing that people often think themselves at liberty to give the reins to their imagination, instead of keeping within the bounds of truth and probability, I make a point of telling everybody who is interested in the subject, that neither of these reports has any foundation."

The King was still in this state of indecision with regard to his projects, when the Diet again met in 1786. The discontent of the States was on this occasion so openly manifested, that the King, at the close of the Diet, informed them that a very long time would elapse before he should consider it necessary to assemble them again. By this threat, which he had long meditated, Gustavus evinced his determination no longer to keep on terms with the States, nor to abide by the conditions he had pledged himself to observe, by the constitution he had himself framed in 1772. This breach of public faith showed his character in the worst light, and the most deplorable results might naturally have been expected. Henceforth he only listened to those whose advice, given in well-studied words and elaborate speeches, was but the echo of his own visionary and ambitious notions. He set his heart on a war with Russia, desirous of emulating the glory and reputation of Gustavus Adolphus: and the flattering courtiers by whom he was surrounded encouraged him by assurances that his plan would present no difficulties, and that he would doubtless easily

regain the Eastern provinces which Sweden had lost. The war which broke out between Russia, Austria, and the Porte, in September, 1787, appeared to be favourable to the views of these visionary politicians. But never was a war entered upon in a more careless and thoughtless manner. Sweden, with but three and a half millions of inhabitants, had little chance of succeeding in a struggle with the colossal force of Russia, unless she were aided by powerful allies, who would take the *lead* in the conflict, or with efficient and well-organized forces of her own. But no such wise precautions had been taken.

It cannot be denied that the Empress of Russia had irritated and provoked the King of Sweden in many ways. She wished to overturn the constitution he had imposed upon Sweden, either by a counter-revolution or by her direct interference, and thus to bring about a renewal of the political discords which he had so successfully quelled. This idea she never abandoned. Never had the Russian influence been more apparent in Sweden than during the Diet of 1786, when the disaffected nobles openly held their opposition meetings at the house of Markow, the Russian ambassador. Markow's successor, Razumowski, carried his intrigues still further. Ever since the peace of Abo (1743), Russia had secretly been plotting to effect the separation of Finland from Sweden, in order to make that province nominally independent, that it might serve as a protecting barrier to the frontiers of Russia. To effect this object, and to gain over the nobility of Finland to her interests, the Empress employed Von Sprengtporten, a relation of the former friend of Gustavus, who has been already mentioned. This man

had basely entered the service of Russia, and was now sent to Finland, furnished with secret instructions from the Court of St. Petersburg, with the object of persuading the principal inhabitants of that province to revolt. At the same time attempts were made to seduce the lower classes from their allegiance by conferring benefits upon them. The year 1787 was one of terrible scarcity throughout the whole of the Russian empire. The low rate of wages had caused a considerable riot in St. Petersburg amongst the workmen employed in constructing the Fontemer Canal; whilst, in the heart of Russia, hundreds and thousands of peasants perished miserably, having been utterly ruined by the magnificent preparations which they were forced to make in honour of the Empress during her journey to the Crimea. Yet in this very year, Catherine alleviated in the most liberal manner the distress of the inhabitants of Swedish Finland, by sending them abundant supplies of corn from the granaries of Viborg.

The hostile motives for these and similar measures could not be mistaken, and the irritable Swedish monarch was enraged to the greatest degree. He burned with impatience to deliver his country from the hated pressure of Russian supremacy; and now that Russia was embarrassed with a Turkish war, he did not wish to lose a moment in pursuing his design.

The northern provinces of that great empire were just then almost denuded of troops through the carelessness of Prince Potemkin, who gave no heed to the remonstrances addressed to him by General Braun, the governor of Courland, on the subject.

The plan of operations Gustavus had formed was the

following: to invest Petersburg by land and by water, and to force the Russians to restore to Sweden the provinces wrested from that country by Peter the Great. He committed, in this, the great error of staking the success of his enterprise, at its very commencement, on the issue of one bold stroke. In order to deceive the world as well as his own subjects into the belief that he was not unsupported by foreign assistance, he appealed to the treaty which had been concluded between Sweden and the Porte in 1739, but which had long ceased to be binding. The real terms of the treaty were *not*, as Gustavus gave out, agreed upon before the commencement of this war, but were in reality only ratified at the close of his second campaign in 1789. Every one, with the exception of Gustavus himself, foresaw the disastrous issue of this expedition. Even his partial biographer, Possult, who published a history of the war in 1793, says, "Almost everybody thought of Charles XII. and his reverses." But Gustavus was not to be deterred from his object. He plunged headlong into the war in the most reckless manner. On the 23rd June, 1788, the Russian ambassador, Count Razumowski, received an intimation, couched in almost insulting language, and unaccompanied by any explanation, to leave Sweden within eight days. On the same day, Gustavus embarked on board the frigate Amphion for Finland, to place himself at the head of the troops assembled there. In the speech which he made in the Senate before his departure, he made use of the following touching expressions: "My resolution is taken—I am ready to lay down my life for my country; and if fortune should favour the arms of my brave followers, the

only monument of Russian pride which I will leave standing, will be the statue of Peter the Great, that the name of Gustavus may be immortalized by being inscribed on its pedestal."

In the full confidence of his anticipated successes, he promised to give a ball to the ladies of his Court at St. Petersburg, and went so far as to fix a day, at no very distant date, on which they were to hear the "Te Deum" in the cathedral of that capital. While on board the Amphion, he wrote in the same strain to his confidant, Baron Armfeld:—"I am so elated with the thoughts of the expedition I am about to undertake, with the idea of becoming the avenger of the Ottoman empire, whose very existence is now menaced with destruction, and with the hope that my name will be known even in Asia and Africa, that I never felt in better spirits, although I am aware how great are the dangers which I am about to encounter."

It is an undeniable fact, that the first act of hostility was on the part of the Swedes. It was currently reported in Stockholm, and the story was circulated years afterwards, that Gustavus had caused a corps of his German troops to be disguised in the Russian uniform, and to make a feigned attack on the Swedish outposts. Be that as it may, it is certain that he was very anxious for a pretext to make it appear that he was the *attacked* and not the *attacking* party, because, as we have seen, he was bound by the Constitution of 1772 to undertake no aggressive war without the sanction of the Diet.

The Empress, in a manifesto of July 11th, designated the conduct of the King of Sweden as mean and treacherous, "for before she had even been informed that

war had been declared, it was actually being carried on on the frontiers of her dominions; and she complained that hostilities were conducted in a manner better befitting a horde of barbarians than a Christian nation." She concluded the manifesto by saying that she held the King of Sweden, and him alone, responsible before God and man for all the evils which would be the result of his unjust ambition.

But in spite of the confident tone which she assumed in public, she was somewhat uneasy at the sudden danger which menaced her empire. To Count Ségur, who possessed a greater share of her confidence than any of the other foreign ambassadors resident at her Court, she replied haughtily, upon his making some observation about the arrogance and presumption of the King of Sweden, "Even if he had gained as many as three great victories, had he become master of St. Petersburg and of Moscow, I would show him what a courageous woman is capable of doing at the head of her people, amidst the ruins of a great empire." Ségur however confesses that the Empress, notwithstanding her apparent fearlessness, entertained serious thoughts of flight; that she had already given orders to pack up her most valuable treasures and papers; and that she sent the younger members of the imperial family for greater security to Moscow. Much greater was the consternation of the other inhabitants of the capital, who had but few troops to protect them. Instead of an army of 24,000 men, as had been given out, Catherine had only 6000 under her command at this moment. One thing alone could save her from the most humiliating disaster—the want of prompt and decisive action on the part of the enemy. This

advantage she had partly secured by the treachery which she had fomented amongst the Swedish, and especially the Finnish nobility; the carelessness of the King of Sweden was also in her favour.

The first hostile encounter took place on the 17th of July, near the Island of Hogland. It was a naval engagement: both sides claimed the victory; but in fact, both suffered nearly equally, and neither gained any decisive advantage. It was fortunate, however, for the Swedes that the Russians declined to renew the combat on the following day, for so short of ammunition were the Swedish troops, that they would have been unable to hold out another hour against the fire of the enemy. Gustavus landed on July 19th, and encamped near the fortress of Fredericksholm, near the sea-shore. Contrary winds retarded the arrival of the reinforcements he expected from Sweaborg till August 2nd. General Siegroth then made immediate preparations for an attack on the enemy, but he suddenly received orders to re-embark all his troops, in consequence of the discovery of a conspiracy in the King's army. This had originated among those officers who had estates in Finland, who were encouraged to manifest their feelings openly by the general discontent prevalent among the Swedish nobility, and by the mutinous spirit of the common soldiers, who were in want of the necessaries of life. These officers, anxious to save their families and property from being plundered by the Russians, and wishing at the same time to put a check on the King's repeated encroachments on their privileges, came to the decision to refuse to render him any assistance in this war. They found no difficulty in persuading the half-starved

soldiers to side with them, and emboldened by their support, they framed a solemn protest, in which they declared that they would ever remain obedient to the Swedish laws, and that they were ready to defend Finland against all invaders to the last drop of their blood, but they complained bitterly that this aggressive war had been entered into without the sanction of the States. The King, on being informed of this protest, was both astonished and enraged; he turned to the troops, but they listened in calm silence to his impassioned words, and showed no signs of approbation. The men of the regiment commanded by Colonel Höstersko laid down their arms, and several Finnish regiments followed their example, declaring that they would not advance one step further. Thus did Gustavus witness the destruction of his fondly cherished hopes of victory. Colonel Höstersko at this instant boldly but respectfully said to Gustavus, in a low voice: "Sire, this is a decisive moment; remember that by one false step you may lose your crown." Gustavus, whose manly courage and presence of mind never failed in the greatest danger, recovered himself instantly, and resolved to yield to an unavoidable necessity in order to avert still greater misfortunes. He did not give way to despair; he trusted that by a speedy return to his capital he might prevent the spreading of this rebellious spirit among his subjects, and also that he might ward off a new danger with which he was threatened by another enemy—Denmark.

The Finnish troops having so far succeeded in their treasonable attempt, now sent a deputation to Catherine at St. Petersburg, and concluded a peace with

Russia on their own account. They informed the King (who had returned to Stockholm with the 1st regiment) of the step they had taken, and represented to him the necessity of immediately assembling the Diet.

Gustavus, by his return to his capital, prevented an *independent* meeting of the States; he knew how important it was for him to conciliate the three Lower Estates,—already wavering in their allegiance,—for by their assistance alone could he hope to regain the ground he had lost. He was therefore anxious to act at this crisis in a manner the best calculated to further this object, and he left no means untried, whether fair or unfair, by open as well as secret efforts, to throw dust into the eyes of the multitude, to persuade them that the whole blame of the failure of his expedition rested with the refractory officers, and to fill their minds with hatred towards the nobles who had betrayed their country. He succeeded so well, that soon no officer dared to show himself in the streets of Stockholm for fear of being murdered. Gustavus told the citizens that "to their fidelity, courage, and loyalty he committed the guardianship of the capital and of the royal family." Immediately two thousand of the inhabitants placed themselves at his disposal, and performed all the duties of a military garrison.

The King then quitted Stockholm and went to Dalecarlia, in order to secure the goodwill and assistance of the brave and sturdy peasantry of that province against the nobles, and to urge them to defend the country against the threatened invasion of the Danes from the Norwegian frontier. Denmark was in fact only too ready to take advantage of the critical position in which Gustavus had placed himself, and on the

strength of a defensive alliance concluded with Russia in 1773, thought herself fully justified, if not in duty bound, to do so, by attacking Sweden.

On September 26th, a Danish army, commanded by Field-Marshal Prince Charles of Hesse, crossed the Swedish frontier. It was generally believed that Russia had promised that the Danes should be allowed to keep possession of the whole length of coast from Gothenburg *in case* they should succeed in conquering it. Gustavus perceived the necessity of repelling this invasion without delay. But his personal courage, great as it was, could not have saved him at this critical moment without the hasty intervention of foreign powers. At Karlstadt, the capital of Wormland, he had an interview with Elliott, the English ambassador at the Court of Denmark, who assured him of the assistance of England, as well as of that of her ally, Prussia.

I have already remarked that Gustavus, at the beginning of the war with Russia, reckoned too confidently on the European policy of non-intervention. He never doubted that England and Prussia would strenuously oppose the designs of Russia against the Porte. But the alliance between these two powers and Holland being only a defensive one, laid them under no obligation but to defend each other in case of being themselves menaced with invasion by Russia or Austria. It was of even greater consequence to England than to Prussia that the *status quo* of Europe should not be disturbed. Count Horzberg, the Prussian minister for foreign affairs, had no wish to involve Prussia in a war which, though it might have been brought to a successful issue under Frederick the

Great, was not at all likely to terminate advantageously under his weak and vacillating successor, Frederick William I.

It was in spite of the earnest remonstrances and warnings of both England and Prussia that Gustavus had persisted in following his own plans; and it was therefore most fortunate for him that, notwithstanding their disapproval of his conduct, they exerted themselves in his hour of need to prevent the ruin of Sweden. It was for their own interest to preserve the equal balance of power in Europe, which appeared in danger of being overturned; and for this reason they intimated to the Danes that unless they should immediately raise the siege of Gothenburg, and withdraw their troops from the Swedish territory, war should be declared, and Denmark should be attacked on all sides, by sea and by land, in Holstein and at Copenhagen. However, before the publication of this declaration, Gustavus, by suddenly appearing before Gothenburg, and by his determined conduct, had averted the danger which menaced the second city in his dominions. He forced the Danes to come to terms, and to agree to remain strictly neutral during the continuation of the war between Sweden and Russia.

The state of European politics which had proved so favourable to Gustavus, by relieving him from all apprehension in this quarter, enabled him to turn his whole attention to the re-establishment of his diminished authority in his own dominions. He now felt himself strong enough to call a Diet, without fear of being obliged to make any concessions to it; and he determined to show that he alone was master, and to chastise the insolence of the nobility. In his opening

speech on the 2nd of February, 1789, he informed the members that the object which he hoped to attain with their assistance was an honourable and lasting peace, but that this could only be secured by the vigorous prosecution of the war. The "Ritterhaus," however, could not be induced to discuss the question of the supplies necessary for this purpose—for the raising of which its consent was requisite—and much time was wasted in debates on comparatively unimportant subjects. Upon this, the King resolved to obtain their consent by force, and to cut the Gordian knot with his sword. On the 20th of February, he caused thirty of the principal members of the Swedish nobility to be arrested by his guards. The officers of the army of Finland who had been a party to the truce with Russia had been in the meantime placed in confinement, and were sentenced to remain in prison some of them for a long term of years, others for life. He then laid before the Diet an act, entitled "The Act of Union and Security," by which the three Lower Orders were declared to be equal in every essential respect to the nobles; but by the same act he reserved to himself an almost absolute authority. The clergy, burghers, and peasants gave their unqualified assent to this act, influenced not only by their inveterate hatred to the nobles, but the greater number of their votes, especially those of the clergy, had been bought beforehand by the King.

Gustavus cared little for the opposition of the nobles. He obtained the consent of the other orders to his proposal that the debts contracted by him up to this time should be liquidated by the State, and that three and a half millions of dollars should be

granted annually for the prosecution of the war. On the 27th of April, the day before the closing of the Diet, the King went in person to the "Ritterhaus," to force the nobles into submission. On the same day, he ordered that one thousand of the lowest of the populace should be feasted at his expense, and to each of these men half a rix-dollar was given. In a half-intoxicated state, led by the officers of the police, they marched in a body to the "Ritterhaus," which they surrounded and regularly besieged whilst the King was within. Ball-cartridges had been distributed amongst the townspeople and to the soldiers who were under arms. No choice was left to the nobles, but either to resist to the uttermost, which would probably have caused a total revolution, and have entailed the loss of all their remaining privileges, or to submit at once to all that the King and the minority of their body who were on his side should think fit to dictate. They chose the latter alternative.

The time was now approaching for the commencement of a second campaign against Russia. During the past winter, the Russians had been actively engaged in putting their country into a better state of defence; and though their forces were not very numerous, they were under no great apprehension from the badly equipped Swedish troops. No decisive results followed this second campaign. The Swedes were not sufficiently powerful to act vigorously, and on the other hand most of the available forces of Russia were employed against the Turks. It was easy to foresee, however, that the King of Sweden would not be able to contend much longer against a foe so superior in nu-

merical strength, even although it could not oppose him with its whole forces. He soon found himself, as in the preceding campaign, unable to provide for the necessary wants of his troops, and they began to murmur at not receiving their arrears of pay. The pecuniary supplies which he received from Turkey, in virtue of a fresh treaty just concluded, were not sufficient to relieve him in this emergency. Under those unfavourable circumstances, Gustavus proceeded to Finland in May, 1790. He adhered to the plan he had formed, two years before, for conquering St. Petersburg. But his good fortune seemed now to have quite deserted him; one disaster followed another in rapid succession.

On the 6th of May, the whole Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line and eight frigates, was blockaded in the Bay of Viborg by two Russian squadrons, which had succeeded in effecting a junction. The blockade continued for four weeks. The Swedes suffered so greatly from the scarcity of provisions and of fresh water, that the officers wished to surrender; but Gustavus would not hear of this. He gave orders that the Swedes should endeavour to force a passage through the midst of the blockading squadron. They succeeded in doing so, but the loss they sustained was immense. The Russians stated that they had taken five thousand prisoners, more than a hundred of whom were officers. The shattered remains of the fleet reached the harbour of Sweaborg in safety: it still numbered a hundred and ninety ships. The Russian fleet was one-third more numerous. The Prince of Nassau, who commanded it, resolved to take the enemy by surprise, and to attack

them near Swenks-sund. He fixed the 9th of July for this manœuvre. This was destined to be the most glorious day in the annals of Gustavus III. We need not therefore apologize for borrowing somewhat at length from the account given by an eye-witness of what took place on this memorable occasion.

"The King," says Major Cazalis, "had everything to fear. He had never been placed in a situation of greater danger, and was fully aware of its extent. Never shall I forget the conversation I had with him on July 8th, on the island of Kusmen, near Swensk-sund, whither I had accompanied him to reconnoitre the position of the enemy's fleet. He appeared depressed and anxious. I remarked that his countenance had lost its usual expression of cheerfulness, and almost of carelessness, which he had always retained in the midst of danger. He seemed lost in thought. This alteration in his demeanour grieved me, but I did not venture to make any remark upon the subject. Gustavus spoke first. He came up to me and said, 'Never, in the most untoward circumstances of my life, have I felt so depressed as now. If I lose the battle in which I am about to engage, I lose everything,—both my fleet and my crown; and I shall become the slave of despotic aristocracy.' I took the liberty of replying to his Majesty, that even if the fate of arms should decide against us, all would not be lost; that he would still find a brave army under his command; and that, in case of the most complete defeat, his personal safety would not be endangered when he had reached the mainland. He replied, 'That is all nonsense. I shall care little about my personal safety, if I incur the contempt of the aristocracy of Stockholm and the blame

of all Europe. The passions of the nobles are worse enemies to contend with than hostile fleets. I am often urged to think of my own safety, but unfortunately I have more reason to fear my own subjects than the weapons of the enemy.'" Cazalis further relates that, contrary to the advice of his officers, Gustavus was quite determined to risk an engagement with the Russians on the following day.

The morning of July 9th dawned at length, the anniversary of the day on which, twenty years before, Catherine II. had ascended the throne. Nassau, who was renowned for his adventurous spirit, hoped to carry the King captive to St. Petersburg. The Swedish fleet took up its position in order of battle at the mouth of the Bay of Swenks-sund. The King himself took the chief command. Favoured by a strong breeze, the Russian fleet advanced to the attack. The cannonading began at a quarter past nine o'clock, on the right wing of the Swedes, and in a quarter of an hour the battle became general. About four P.M. the gunboats belonging to the left wing of the Russian fleet were quite disabled. Several of their galleys surrendered; others, in attempting to escape, went to pieces on the rocks. Nassau, whose confidence in the successful issue of his undertaking began to be shaken, gave the signal for retreat; but the wind, which had been so favourable to their advance, was dead against them, and they were forced against their will to continue the engagement. About seven o'clock the Russian frigate St. Nicholas, with her whole crew, went down. It was an awful sight to behold the ship engulfed, the waters gradually closing over her, and leaving no trace of anything belonging to her! Four hundred men who were

on board met their death thus. Only one officer and a surgeon were rescued whilst struggling with the waves —they were picked up by one of the Swedish gunboats. They related that the captain of the St. Nicholas, an Englishman of the name of Marshal, a man of a stern and inflexible disposition, refused to yield to the entreaties of his men that he would surrender. They represented to him that only by the assistance of the Swedes could they escape certain death. But he replied, "I have not been able to show you how to conquer; but I can at least show you how to die bravely." He then instantly threw himself into the sea, grasping the colours, and shouting "Hurrah!" It was not till one hour after midnight that the firing ceased on both sides. But the battle was not yet decided; although many of the light craft of the Russians had been either captured or sunk, and the others had retreated from the scene of action, most of the larger vessels were still in a condition to defend themselves. The next morning, at three o'clock, the combat was renewed. The gunboats having completely surrounded the enemy's fleet, the King gave the signal for the attack. A series of hand-to-hand combats took place on all sides; the carnage was fearful; the confusion indescribable. The ships came into collision with each other; there was no possibility, from their being so closely wedged together, of their executing any evolutions; the cannonading was incessant. At last the Swedes shouted "Victory!" During all this time Gustavus had been watching the conflict from the deck of his own ship; with a steady eye he followed the progress of the battle, and gave the necessary orders, sending reinforcements wherever they were needed, and thus en-

suring the victory. The hostile fleet was entirely dispersed: many ships were captured; some were burned; others were sunk, or foundered on the rocks,—very few escaped. The very elements seemed to have leagued together against the Russians: they had to contend with the winds and waves and with fire, as well as with a courageous and determined foe. At ten o'clock the bloody conflict was at an end—Gustavus was triumphant.

Thus ended this memorable battle. Never since Narva had the Russians sustained so complete a defeat; and perhaps there has never been another instance of such heroic courage in a monarch as that by which Gustavus extricated himself from his desperate situation at Swenks-sund. The number of guns captured by the Swedes was 1412. The total loss of the Russians was computed at not less than 12,000, including killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Cazalis remarks that Gustavus owed this wonderful success not so much to his strategical talents, as to his undaunted resolution. "The King," he says, "was endowed by nature with that indomitable courage which scorns peril. He believed that nothing could harm a man who always bravely confronted danger, and acted as though unconscious of its existence. This courage was strengthened by the maxims of the philosophy which he professed. It was his opinion that the fate of mankind is regulated by a fixed and unchangeable order of things,—a belief, indeed, which might have ill befitted a peaceful philosopher or a quiet citizen, but well suited for a warrior, and which has equally been held by Alexander the Great, Charles XII., and other great conquerors."

To this belief in fatalism then, as well as to the manly courage which he displayed in such a remarkable degree in the battle of Swenks-sund, Gustavus was indebted for his victory. It did not indeed save him from all the perils into which his rashness had plunged him, but it saved his reputation and his fame.

Catherine, who, even before the commencement of this campaign, had wished for peace, was now still more anxious for it. The conferences which, after the death of Joseph II., had been opened at Reichenbach, in Silesia, had assumed a fresh aspect. It was evident that Austria intended to conclude peace with the Turks; and it was no less certain that unless Russia adopted more moderate measures, she would ere long be engaged in a war with Prussia, and perhaps with England also. This made the Empress the more anxious to concentrate her whole forces against Turkey, in the hopes of being able to gain at least some substantial advantages in that quarter, even if she should not succeed in carrying out her first intentions. She had been already for three years engaged in the struggle without obtaining any decisive results. Intimately connected with this object was another—the Polish question. These considerations decided her conduct with regard to Sweden: she made proposals of peace. The negotiations were opened at the camp on the plain of Werela, near the river Kymen; and the treaty was signed on August 14, 1790. Everything was re-established on the same footing as before the war. On this occasion the conditions of the former treaties of Abo and Nystadt were not renewed; Gustavus therefore flattered himself that Russia thus vir-

tually renounced all pretensions to interfere with the internal affairs of Sweden, and recognized the Constitution he had established. Catherine, on the other hand, was satisfied that peace had been concluded without the intervention of any foreign power, while the dependent position in which Gustavus allowed himself to be placed with regard to Russia, both in a pecuniary and political point of view, was her best guarantee that she might continue to make Sweden subservient to her own purposes.

The restoration of peace now gave Gustavus an opportunity of relieving his subjects from the oppressive burdens and heavy taxes which the war had entailed upon them. It was only by a wise economy, and by the maintenance of tranquillity, that prosperity could be restored to the impoverished country. But instead of pursuing this course of action, the King's only aim was by winning fresh laurels to compensate for the failure of his projects against Russia. An intimate friendship had sprung up between him and Catherine II., with whom he kept up a constant correspondence. Gustavus had long since proved himself incapable of governing with that moderation by which alone he could have succeeded in conciliating his subjects, who were again divided into factions, and in bringing them once more into a state of union, and of submission to the laws. He now acted on the principle that his will was to be the only law, and that whatever he wished must be done, because he was the King. The independence of the States was already completely undermined, and Gustavus appeared determined to sever the last link which bound him to a Constitution. By the help of Russian gold he hoped to establish a

Russian form of government. He believed that he could conquer the opposition of the refractory nobles by exciting their jealousy of the three Lower Orders. That object gained, there would be no obstacle to prevent his taking the field at the head of his faithful troops in defence of the rights of princes, which had been attacked and overturned by the French Revolution. It must be acknowledged, that judging from the position of affairs and politics in Sweden at that moment, nobody was so ill qualified as Gustavus to carry out the gigantic enterprise he meditated, which was no other than to re-establish in France the old order of things which had been so completely subverted. Urged by the insatiable desire for *action*, Gustavus, as in the Russian war, was eager to be the first in the field; whereas, had he consulted his own and his people's interests, he ought to have been the last to take arms. Catherine flattered and encouraged his vain ambition and political fanaticism, for though she had no intention of exerting herself to suppress the French Revolution, she incessantly urged all the cabinets of Europe to this "holy war," in order that she might be at liberty, during the confusion which would ensue, to pursue, without fear of opposition, her designs against Poland. That unhappy country, which had already been once partitioned, had been in a disturbed state for some years; but the Poles, with unpardonable negligence, had not really effected anything towards the regeneration of their country, and had only hastened the period of its downfall.

The plan proposed by Catherine, in her letters to Gustavus, was that he should, at the head of an army of Swedish and Russian troops, invade France, for the

purpose of delivering Louis XVI. from the hands of his enemies, and of restoring the ancient power of the French monarchy, now shaken to its foundations.

In the summer of 1791, Gustavus went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had an interview with the Marquis de Bouillé, the confidential adviser of Louis XVI., with reference to this scheme. On his return to Stockholm he announced his intention of convoking a Diet in the early part of the following year; but, in order to be removed from the opposing influences which were always at work in the capital, he determined that, instead of being assembled there as heretofore, it should hold its session at Giftle, a small town on the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia. He hoped to coerce this Diet by intimidation, bribery, or force. But he reckoned vainly on the success of these contemptible expedients, for a secret conspiracy had been formed against him in consequence of his unprincipled and unpopular proceedings. Even the representatives of the burghers and peasantry refused to grant a fresh loan of ten millions, which the King demanded for "the furtherance of certain plans," sanctioned by the approbation and promised assistance of the Empress of Russia. There were however many who, out of hatred to the nobles, would have been found willing to support the King in his designs of completely nullifying the power of the States, and restoring absolute monarchy, as in the time of Charles XI.; but the King had received warnings which deterred him from venturing on this step. To prevent, if possible, the immediate outbreak of the universal discontent, the King closed the Diet quite unexpectedly on February 24th. Couriers had arrived from Stockholm bringing such alarming in-

telligence relating to the disposition of the inhabitants of the capital, that he saw the necessity of returning there without delay.

But Gustavus was not destined to escape unscathed from the dangers by which he was menaced. For several months a conspiracy against his life had been planned by some of the aggrieved and refractory nobles, who were bent on the recovery of their lost privileges. At a masked ball, at which the King was present on the evening of the 16th of March, he was mortally wounded by a pistol-shot fired by Jacob Johann Ankerström. Personal hatred to the monarch, combined with political motives, led to the perpetration of this cowardly assassination. Ankerström's chief accomplices were Counts Horn and Adolphus Ribbing, Baron Thure Bjelke, General Pechlin, and Lieutenant-Colonel Liljehorn. The latter, seized with remorse, however, had sent an anonymous letter to the King to warn him of his danger, but it had unfortunately been disregarded.

The conspirators did not effect the object they had in view by the commission of this crime, and it is doubtful whether they would have succeeded had the King's immediate death given them the opportunity of profiting by the universal confusion which would probably have ensued. For so greatly had the tyrannical government of the nobles, during the "reign of freedom," been detested by the people, that they would have preferred even the oppressive rule of an absolute monarch to the re-establishment of the power of the aristocracy which Gustavus III. had subverted.

During the twelve days which elapsed ere the King expired, he had time to secure the interests of the

Crown. His melancholy fate excited universal sympathy. All the feelings of anger which had been called forth by the misery and disorders his rash conduct had caused, were now forgotten. Every one bewailed the loss of the high-minded monarch whose courage, even now, had not forsaken him. Those who had most resolutely opposed him now joined in the general demonstration, and made hypocritical professions of sorrow and of loyalty. The King received assurances of fidelity and sympathy from all classes of his subjects. They appeared to have no wishes but his. They swore to observe the Constitution, and many towns, following the example of Upsaal, hastened to renew their oaths of allegiance. They took a solemn engagement to respect the "Act of Security" which had elicited so many expressions of discontent.

Gustavus had desired, on the 17th of March, that the government should be carried on during his illness by his brother, Duke Charles of Sudermania. His orders were implicitly obeyed. He expired March 29, 1792, in the forty-sixth year of his age. The last words he spoke to his confessor were the following, "I know that, in the sight of God, I have no great merits, but it is a consolation to me to reflect that I never willingly caused pain to any one, and I humbly hope for the Divine forgiveness."

On April 27th Ankerström was publicly executed. Baron Bjolke had escaped sharing the same fate by poisoning himself, March 20th; his body was dragged through the town by the executioner, and buried beneath the gallows, as was customary after the execution of the worst criminals. The other conspirators, Horne, Ribbing, and Liljehorn, had been condemned to death,

but the Regent commuted their sentence to that of banishment for life, and the loss of their titles of nobility and of all their privileges.

Thus, as we have seen, the fanaticism springing from the blind and deeply-rooted ignorance of one class led to the crime of regicide. We have seen that a brave and highly-gifted monarch hastened his own downfall by allowing himself, contrary to his better judgment, to be led away by vanity, ambition, and the love of show, and by following the maxim of Louis XIV., "L'Etat, c'est moi!" But a long time was still to elapse, as the fate of his son, Gustavus IV., has so lately proved, before the Swedes learned to take warning by the sufferings they had brought on themselves, and before they accomplished the difficult task of eradicating the errors of their worn-out Constitution by a complete and fundamental change of government, better calculated to secure to the nation that concord and unity of purpose which alone could give it strength.

VIII.—ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE HAURAN AND THE EASTERN DESERT OF SYRIA.

COMMUNICATED BY C. C. GRAHAM, ESQ., F.R.G.S.,
AND EDITED, WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES, BY JOHN HOGG, ESQ.,
M.A., F.R.S., HON. FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read June 23rd, 1858.)

Mr. Cyril Graham, in the summer of 1857, made an excursion not only into the *Haurán*, a district of eastern Syria, which a Member of the Royal Society of Literature, the Rev. J. L. Porter, had four years before visited, and the results of whose investigations have been given to the world in his amusing work on 'Damascus,' but also into a portion of the Syrian Desert,—or the Arabian Desert, as the ancient geographers termed it,—situate still further to the east, and which had not then been explored by any modern traveller. The Greek inscriptions that Mr. Porter had copied in his tour were published in the Fifth Volume of the Transactions of the Society, with restorations and comments by myself; and I now have the honour of submitting to the Society the present Paper, which contains about forty more inscriptions, as carefully transcribed by Mr. Graham as he was able during his very recent excursion. That enterprising traveller, on

his return to England last year, kindly gave them to me for the Society, and requested that I should edit them, in the same manner as I had attempted to do those received from Mr. Porter. How far, indeed, I have been able to succeed in my translations and notes, I will leave my readers to determine, hoping that they will bear in mind the great difficulty of the task, which was necessarily increased by the traveller being obliged, with pain, and in the burning sun of a Syrian summer, to make some of his transcripts rather *hastily* from the original monuments, without having the opportunity of taking impressions or rubbings from them, which are in all respects the most certain, and the most to be desired. I should moreover state that the Rev. C. Babington, a Member of the Council of the Society, and the learned editor of 'Hyperides,' very obligingly revised, with the assistance of the Rev. J. S. Wood, the following pages as they passed through the press; and many corrections and suggestions which occurred to them, I have appended in a Postscript at the end of my Paper.

One portion of the district of Syria visited by Mr. Graham is already known to us by the able descriptions of Burckhardt, Buckingham, and Porter, and it will therefore be unnecessary for me to add any further account of it. That portion, chiefly comprised under the Arabic name of the Haurân, the *Auranitis* (*Αὐρανῖτις*) of the Greeks, will, in Mr. Graham's words, "ever claim the most solemn interest, being the old Land of Bashan (of which *Batanæa* of the Romans was a part), the country of that most remarkable people the "Rephaim," who occupied this land long before Abraham crossed the desert, and among whom, in later

times, Og,[1] the King of Bashan, was one of the greatest chiefs."[2]

Mr. Graham states, at the present day the *Druzes*, who are of the same stock as those in the Lebanon, "are the settled inhabitants of Bashan. They live in the very cities out of which, more than three thousand years ago, the Rephaim were expelled, through the help of God, by the victorious Israelites."

But other portions, lying mostly to the east and north of Gebel-Haurân, as they were unvisited before the year 1857 by modern European travellers, and were only imperfectly known by the rough descriptions afforded by Arab guides, will here require some short notice.

Mr. Graham passed from Shuhba, at the southern

[1] In the English and Greek translations of the Old Testament, this king's name, in Hebrew עוג, is written *Og*, but in Tremellius and Junius's Latin version, 'Biblia Sacra, ex Hebræo *Latinè* reddita' (*Amst.*, 1669), Deut. iii. 11, it is given, "*Hog*, Rex Baschanis." And the same is found in the French Bible,—"*Hog*, Roi de Basçan" ('La Sainte Bible,' édit. de *Paris*, 1805).

"Stemmata quid faciunt? Quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censeri?"

except, perhaps, for a little family pride. Many of our ancient English families lay claim to descent from the "scepter'd ancestry" of Saxons, Danes, or Normans, and some, indeed, from the later kings of Jerusalem; but few can be bold enough to trace their branch from so ancient a *stem* as that of the powerful prince "of the remnant of *the Rephaim*," and "King of Bashan." It is a singular coincidence that one bearing that name should have been called upon to interpret many of these inscriptions, recently brought from the ancient "land of Bashan," and some even from the supposed capital of *Hog*.

[2] See Mr. Graham's Paper entitled "Explorations in the Desert east of the Haurân, and in the Ancient Land of Bashan," in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xxviii. p. 228, and following pages, with a new Map.

border of the Lejah (*Trachonitis*), through *Wadi-Nimreh* (panthress) and several ancient towns, the most considerable of which "was *Malkyeh*, near the edge of the desert. On the wall," he says, "of a public building there, I found a Greek inscription, from which it appears the Greek name was likewise 'Malkaia,'" or probably *Malcova*. The word on the inscription looks more like ΜΑΛΚΟΥΗΝΟΥ, 'of an inhabitant of *Malcova*' (see No. 27). I have not been able to find such a name in any work on ancient geography.

Proceeding to the east, Mr. Graham came to the southern extremity of the *Safâh*, from which the chain named *Tell-e'-Safâh* rises. It is an insulated volcanic district, which is elevated above the desert. Here were found inscriptions in an unknown Shemitic character, accompanied with palm-trees, and other figures roughly cut in large blocks of basalt. On the east side of the Safâh were some ruins of towns, similar to the ancient cities of Bashan, though remaining in a less perfect condition. The hills rising from the Safâh are described as at distances which vary from four to ten miles from the border. The tract of basalt from the base of those hills to the edge is intersected with fissures of very great depth and width. Some of these natural clefts are about seven yards wide, and in very many places cannot be crossed over. This region, Mr. Graham tells us, "resembles no other formation that he is aware of except the Lejah;" but it seems to me to afford the nearest parallel to portions of the volcanic district of Iceland, especially to the neighbourhood of Thingvalla, where there are many deep and frightful clefts, or natural chasms, in the rocky ground, which the Icelanders term *gias*.

Continuing in a south-easterly course, the traveller crossed a tract of country called *El-Harrah*, which is probably derived from *harr*, 'heat,' and is thought to extend five days' journey in length, and from a day's to a day and a half's journey in width. "Throughout the whole of this strip the plain is covered with innumerable stones, rounded like boulders, but all of basalt." At length he came to a Wadi, known as *El-Warran*, where were more ruins and Shemitic inscriptions. Passing close to *Tell-Ozda*, a solitary hill on the east of *Tell-e'-Nemâreh* (the 'Hill of Panthers'), he entered a broad Wadi. Indeed, at this latter spot Mr. Graham "found the greatest number of inscriptions on the basaltic stones that he had met with anywhere." The characters of these Shemitic inscriptions he thinks "most nearly approach to those of the Himyaritic;" and he states that they are to appear in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was at first supposed that they resembled the *Sinaic* inscriptions, but I think there is nothing to warrant such a conclusion. Mr. Graham observes, "The absence of all Greek inscriptions," except four found at *Nemâreh*, "seems to argue that this country never came under the dominion of the Greeks," or of the Romans; and he adds, "Whether this country once was tributary to Phœnicia, or whether we have on these stones inscriptions of a far earlier period,—traces perhaps left by the old Rephaim themselves, who first occupied this land,—is at present mere matter for speculation."

From E'-Nemâreh, Mr. Graham being unable to explore the desert any further to the east, which he describes as a "vast plain, bounded only by the horizon, and which reaches, it seems, without a single break,

to the Euphrates," returned to *Shuhba*, near the northern base of Gebel-Haurân.

He then visited the ruins of several towns, situated on the east and south of the Gebel-Haurân range, namely, *Nimreh*, built on a hill above the Wadi; there he noticed a Roman temple, but not any inscriptions; also *Bshénnef*, *Busân*, *Sali*, and *Sehwet-el-Khudr*. The first "is beautifully situated on the border of a wild glen, which leads into the great plain below." The second, whose name, *Busân*, has no connection with that of *Basan*, or Bashan, but is supposed to be abbreviated from *Abu Sán*, 'Father Sân,' is a large town; its "streets are very regularly built, its stone houses perfect, and it commands an extensive view of the desert." The third, *Saleh*, or *Sali*, is "another very large town on the mountain," and possesses many fine springs. *Sehwet-el-Khudr* (St. George) was visited by Burckhardt. This portion of Bashan Mr. Graham describes as "very beautiful," and covered with the forests of oak,—"the beauty of Bashan." Below the picturesque and conical peak *El-Kuleib* (the 'Little Heart') lies on the south the ancient city *Kufr*, "the town gates" of which, "composed of two large slabs of stone, nearly nine feet high, and a foot or more in thickness, are still standing uninjured." *Afineh*, *Hejmar*, and *'Ari* possessed nothing remarkable.

Again, from the beautiful ruined city of *Busrah*, Mr. Graham came to *E'-Deir* ('Convent'), on the border of *Wadi-el-Botm*, or 'Valley of the Terebinth' (*Pistacia Terebinthus*), which contained ruins, but no inscriptions. Thence followed similar ruins at *Um-e'-Semak* ('Mother of Semak'), *Um-e'-Serab* ('Mother of the Mirage'), *Deir-el-Kaffir* ('Convent of Kaffir'), near

which is the ancient Roman and well-paved road leading between Busrah and Ammân; and after a short distance appeared "an enormous city, standing alone in the desert, and known by the name of *Um-el-Jemâl*, most probably the 'Beth-Gamul' of Scripture," especially of Jeremiah (xlviii. 23). Since Mr. Graham had the good fortune of reaching this very ancient place, which, as far as we know, had not been visited by Europeans for many centuries, I will here give some extracts from his description of it. "Surrounded by a lofty wall, in the form of a rectangle, it appears much the size of modern Jerusalem. Many of the streets are paved; and open spaces, like *squares*, are seen within the city. There were some large public buildings; one in particular, which had several *red* crosses upon it, had most probably been a convent: also a noble arch, like a Roman triumphal arch, under which lies a mutilated *Latin* inscription (see No. 33): numerous reservoirs, though without water, and tombs. As the latter were outside the city walls, here, as at Palmyra, extramural burial was the custom. Some of the houses were spacious; they had generally three rooms on the ground, and two on the first floor; the stairs, of large stones built into the walls, led up outside; the doors, many of them folding doors, and often much ornamented, were also of stone." Mr. Graham carefully looked for inscriptions, but could only discover five, two of them being in *Latin*. He says, "On one of the houses I found the single word ΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟC. I hoped that this might lead to the discovery of some *Palmyrene* inscription, but I could find nothing more. We know how common this name was at Palmyra; probably some merchant of that city had settled at *Um-el-*

Jemál, and inscribed his name on his house." The inscription itself will be seen at No. 35: it states a little more than is here mentioned; and from the word ἐπαύσατο, 'ceased to live,' which I so make out, it seems that *Odænathus* had been a Christian, and died at the age of thirty. Mr. Graham further observes, "In *Suweideh*," which Buckingham has written *Soeeda*, one of the largest cities of the Haurân, and the birth-place of Bildad, one of Job's three friends, according to local tradition, but the Roman name of which is as yet unknown, "we find a remarkable tomb, evidently of *Palmyrene* construction, on which Mr. Porter, in 1853, found a Greek inscription, to the effect that '*Odænathus*, son of Annelus, built that monument (*stele*) to Chamrate his wife.' The coincidence between the name and the architecture of the stele struck Mr. Porter, and on a careful examination of this building the other day, I found an inscription deeply cut in the *Palmyrene* character."[3] If the tradition of Bildad's birth having been in this city be true, then it would seem that its ancient Biblical name was *Shuha* (see Job ii. 11); and indeed Mr. Graham was told that *Nebi Ayûb*, or the 'Prophet Job,' himself was born in the neighbouring city of Kunawât, the *Kenath* of the Bible, and the natives even pretend to show his house. Also St. Jerome has stated that Job was born in the Haurân.

From Um-el-Jemâl Mr. Graham returned to Busrah, then started for Salkhad (*Salchah*), and proceeding to the south, he came to a curious old town, named 'Mother of Pomegranates,' *Um-e'-Rumán*; the tombs there

[3] The Palmyrene inscription, as well as the Greek one by *Odænathus*, at Suweideh, are both given by *Buckingham* in his 'Arab Tribes,' p. 236; the latter, as usual with him, is barbarously copied.

noticed were well sculptured, and much resembled some of the beautiful ones at Palmyra. *Mashkûk* and *Malah* presented many important ruins, and a few inscriptions. The last is a "larger and more interesting town even than *Orman*," the former Philippopolis.

This enterprising traveller has "no doubt that the towns in this country, like those of Bashan, are of the highest antiquity," and that these were "the cities of the giant *Rephaim*." This people being naturally of a *gigantic* size, the word 'Rephaim,' which strictly meant the 'Nation,' was used in time to signify any 'Giants;' and it has sometimes created, as he observes, a "confusion in our translation of the Old Testament." In Deuteronomy iii. 11, our version has translated that Og was "of the remnant of *Giants*," and not, as is clearly more correct to read, "of the remnant of *the Rephaim*;" הרפאים being the original word in the Hebrew text. So the Septuagint translation has in the same verse, τῶν Ῥαφαΐν, and the Alexandrine, τῶν Ῥαφαείν, but the Latin Vulgate makes the like mistake as the English Bible, in rendering it '*gigantûm*.'

At a later period the Romans colonized, enlarged, and beautified those strong and "walled cities," which are still remaining in good preservation, although long ago abandoned and uninhabited; they thus prove, in a remarkable manner, the fulfilment of *Jeremiah's*[4] prophecy, "The spoiler shall come upon every city, and no city shall escape;" and "the *cities* thereof shall be desolate, *without any* to dwell therein."

[4] Jeremiah xlviii. 8, 9. Most of these *cities* visited by Mr. C. Graham, with the line of his route, are laid down in Mr. Arrowsmith's new map, in vol. xxviii. Geographical Journal; and for a further account of them, see Mr. Graham's paper in Cambridge Essays for 1858, "On the Ancient Bashan and the cities of Og."

At *Ain Abu Hamaka*, or the 'Spring of Father Hamaka.'—Mr. Graham says, "The upper portion is beautifully distinct and well cut; but the latter part is much injured by fungi."

1. ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑC
ΓΟΡΑΙΔΝΟΥCCΒ
ΑΙΜΟCΑΘΕΡΟΥ
ΝΟΑΘΟCΛCΑ
ΟΓΟΑΟΓ

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
Γορδιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)
Αἶμος Ἀθέρου
Νόαθος Ἀσᾶ
ογοαογ . . .

"For the safety of *Gordian* Augustus, *Hæmus* (the son) of Atherus, Noathus (the son of) Asa" . . .

Αἶμος may perhaps be more correctly *Αὖμος*, a more common name (see Nos. 2 and 3 of Porter's Inscriptions). The date of this inscription is most likely about A.D. 243, and the Gordian therein mentioned is without doubt the third Emperor of that name, who went to Syria in A.D. 242, and was victorious in Mesopotamia.

At *Ayûn* ('springs'), on a stone which is inverted.—

2. ΟΒΕΔΟCΚΕ
CΕΡΚΙΑΝΟCΖΕ
ΟΑΞΜΛΟCΟΙ
ΚΟΔΟΜΗCΑΝ
ЄΤ ΡΠΔ

Ὄβεδος κὲ
Σερκιανός κὲ
Ὀάξμαος οἰ-
κοδόμησαν
ἔτ(ει) ρπδ.

"Obedus, and Sercianus, and Oaxmaüs built (this) in the year 184."

In this inscription κὲ is abbreviated for καὶ : see the same repeated in an inscription found by Burckhardt, at Thaale, Syria, etc., p. 107. *Οἰκοδόμησαν* is the more usual form which occurs in these inscriptions for *ᾠκοδόμησαν*.

The year 184 would correspond with A.D. 120, if we calculate, as Herr J. Franz (in Böckh's Corp. Inscription. Græc. vol. iii. Nos. 4635, 4641) concludes, from the *Pompeian era*, which begins in the year 690 of the building of Rome, or 64 B.C., and this, he says, is shown from the coins of the cities of that district. But if the *Bostræan era* be taken, which commences from the building of the city of Rome 858, or A.D. 104 (see Franz, *ibid.*, Nos. 4648, and 4651), the year 184 would then answer to A.D. 288.

At *Bshennef*, among the mountains called *Gebel-e'-Druz*, on the eastern side of the Hauran.—It was first visited by Mr. C. Graham, who supposes the name to be abbreviated from *Abu* ('father') *Shennef*.

3. ΥΠΕΙC.... .. ΙΗΡΙΑCΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ
ΡΟCΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ
ΝΟΥCΕΒΑCΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥCΥΝΠΑΝΤΟC
ΟΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΝΙΚΗCΕΤΟΥCΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΥΕΤΙC Ι
ΚΥΚΑΙΚΥΡΙΝΑΛΙΟΥΣΕΜΟΛΛΟΥΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΟΥ

Ὑπὲ(ρ) σ(ωτ)ηρίας τοῦ Κυρίου Αὐτοκράτο-
ρος Καίσαρος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεί-
νου Σεβαστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος
οἴκου, καὶ νίκης ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου ἔτει—γ̄
(π)υ. καὶ Κυριναλίου Σεμόλλου ἑκατοντάρχου.

"For the safety of the Lord Emperor Cæsar *M. Aurelius Antoninus* Augustus, and of the whole of (his) family; and (for) the victory of the eleventh year (of his reign), in the year 483, and of *Cyrinalius Semollus*, the Centurion."

The Emperor here named is *Marcus Aurelius*, usually called 'Philosophus,' and the inscription records a victory gained in the eleventh year of his reign, which would be A.D. 171.

The last letter in the fourth line of Mr. Graham's transcript, Ι, and the first two letters in the fifth line, ΚΥ, clearly signify numerals, but they must be incorrect, for Ι′ = 10, Κ′ = 20, and Υ′ = 400. I therefore take them to have originally stood thus, ΓΠΥ = 384, which, as in a former inscription (see Porter's Inscript., Trans. R.S.L. vol. v. p. 253), must be read from right to left. This date evidently relates to the *era of the Seleucidæ*, which began B.C. 312; if then that number be subtracted from 483, the exact year will correspond to 171 after Christ, and which is the eleventh year of *M. Aurelius*. The victory referred to in that year is most probably one which was gained over the Marcomanni, two years after the death of Verus, his colleague in the Empire, and in which Cyrinalius Semollus may have been distinguished.

Also from *Bshennef.*—

4.

ΚΑΙΔΚ
ΦΛΜΑΖΙΜΟCCΑΒΕΙΗΟΥΒ Φ
ΜΕΝΤΑΡΗCΙΟCΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΙCΟΥ
ΛΑΝΟCΚΝ$^{\text{X}}_{\text{P}}$ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟCΙΗC
ΗΓΕ$\overset{\circ}{\text{Μ}}$ΤΟΜΝΗΔCCΙΟΙΔΙΩΩΙCΟ
ΔΟΜ$\overset{\circ}{\text{Η}}$CΕCΥΝ ΕΟΜΔΕΧΙΥΝΑΙΚΗ

Φλ. Μάξιμος Σαβεί(ν)ου καὶ Δ(ε)κ. Φ.
Μενταρήσιος καὶ Κοίνισο(s) (λεγ)
ε(ὼ)νος ΚΥ$^{\text{X}}_{\text{P}}$ *γενόμενος* (τ)*ῆς*
Ἡγεμὼ(ν) τὸ μνῆ(μ)α ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω(ν) ᾠ(κ)ο
δόμησ(αν) (Θ)*εομάχῃ* (γ)*υναικ(ὶ)* . . .

"Flavius Maximus (the son) of Sabinus, and Decius Flavius Mentaresius, and Cœnisus the Tribune of the Cyrenaïcan Legion, having become the commander (of the same), built this tomb with their own (money), to Theomache, the wife of . . ."

The original transcript gives, in the third line, ΚΝ, but which I conclude ought to be ΚΥΡ, meaning ΚΥΡ, for *Κυρηναϊκῆς*. The Legion called *Cyrenaïca* was numbered iii., and was known to have been in that part of Syria, near the confines of Arabia. It is to be remarked that the Greek word *λεγεὼν* is masculine, but in these inscriptions it is feminine, and seems to have been the Latin *legio* written in Greek letters.

See Böckh (vol. iii. ed. Franz), Nos. 4571 and 4566, both of which were found at Edhrâ; and in one from Bosrah, No. 4651, another *Fl. Maximus*, written with a Ζ for an Ξ, as in the present example, is mentioned as being a soldier of the *same* Legion, the date of which is given as A.D. 219.

From the same place (*Bshennef*).

5. ..... ΤΙCΕΗΗΚΡΙ ---- ΙΝ
ΚΝΗΟΕΟΥΕΠΙΥΕΚΟ
ΤΑΥΙΑΟΙΛΟΙΟΚΙΑΚΑΙ
CΟΝΕΟΥΚΑΙΛΙΛΑΗCΙ
ΟΚΟΙΚΟΛΜΗΟΑΝΤΩΥ
ΜΟΙΜΟΥΑΙΟΕ

. . . (ἐκ)τίσθη ἡ κρή(νη) . . . ιν
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Σόνθο(ς) καὶ Ἀνανει
ο(ς) ᾠκοδόμησαν τὸν
Μοίμου Αἰθε(ρου).

The above is very doubtful. If the last name be *Ætherus* or *Atherus*, it occurs in the third line of No. 1.

From *Busan*, which Mr. Graham thinks to mean *Abu Sàn*, 'Father San,' a somewhat important town, on the east side of the Gebel-Haurân, and south of the last place.

6. ΕΞΕΠΙΜΕΛΙΑCΝΑΙΜΟΥΕΑΙΡΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΥCΠΟΥΔ ΚΑΙ
Τ ΤΟΥΝΑΖΑΛΟΥΕΚΤΙCΘΗΤΑCΡΓΑCΤΗΡΙΑ ΗΝ
ϵΤΙ
CΠΑ

Ἐξ ἐπιμελ(ε)ίας Ναΐμου Ἐαίρου Μάρκου, σπουδ(ῇ) καὶ
Τ(ί)του Ναζάλου, ἐκτίσθη τὰ ἐργαστήρια ἐν
ἔτ(ε)ι
σπα

"Under the superintendence of Naïmus Eærus (the son of) Marcus and by the care of Titus Nazalus, the workshops were erected in the year 281."

In this inscription the year 281, if calculated according to the *Pompeian era*, would answer to A.D. 217, but if according to the *Bostræan era*, it would be A.D. 385.

7. ΔΙΙΚΥΡΙΩ
ΚΧΗΝΙΛ Δ
ΙΟCΙΟΥ
ΙΟCΦΑ
ΑΝΟC
ΑΤΙΩΤΗ ΩΝΟC

Διὶ κυρίῳ
Κορνήλε
ιος Ἰού-
(λ)ιος Φα-
ανὸς
(Στρ)ατιώτη(ς) (λεγε)ὼνος . . .

"To Jupiter the Lord, Cornelius Julius Phaanus, a Soldier of the Legion . . ."

I think the name *Φαανὸς* has been, most likely, *Φα(β)ανὸς*, *Favanus*.

The next four were found at *Dáma*, the *Dhami* of of Burckhardt, situate to the east of Edhrâ. Mr. Graham says of this, that it was "copied from a house, the letters being very bad and straggling."

8. ЄICOΘWCW
BWHΘOSTOBЄI
HЄICTHNOIKOΔOMI N
MNIЄKЄΞI ΔIONOIKOΔOMHC
KNOBOΘЄЬ ЄIC THNOIKOΔ
BOMΘHC HKЄ TOV —

Ἐισόθεος ὁ
Βοηθο(υ)ς τῷ Βε(λ)
ήει(ῳ) τὴν οἰκοδομ(ὴ)ν
μν(αῶν) ἐξ ἰ(δ)ίων οἰκοδόμησ-
εν. Ὀβοθευς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδ(ομὴν)
Βομθης Ἡκετου . . .

"Isotheus the (son) of Boëthos erected the edifice to Beleëius out of his own money. Obotheus for the dwelling of Bomthe Hecetus . . ."

The fifth word may possibly be *Βελιηκῳ*, or *Βελιακῳ*, a proper name,—*Beliacus*, seen in some Syro-Greek inscriptions.

The following was taken from "a castle called by the Arabs *Kasr-Shéleh*."

9. ΑΡΚΟσΘЄΑ''''ΟΝΚΑΙΘCΜΟσΟЄ
ΡΟσΛΡΟΝΟ||Ο
ΔΟΜΟ

(Μ)άρκος Θεάμων καὶ Θ(έ)μος Θε
(όδω)ρος Ἀρόνο(υ ᾠ)-
(κο)δόμ(ησαν) . . .

"Marcus Theamon and Themus Theodorus (the son) of Aronus erected . . ."

10. ΙΑCΑΙCЄΛΗΜΟ
ΝΟΛΘΟΥ

ἰ(δί)αις Ἐλήμφ
Νοάθου.

(Some one built this monument,) "at his own expense, to Elemus (the son) of Noathus . . ."

The name of *Noathus* occurs at No. 1.

11. COMNATHЌYPIΛ
ΛHN

Σομνάτη Κυρίλ-
λην

These are both proper names. Κυρίλλα (Cyrilla) is seen in Böckh, vol. iii. inscription No. 4088, as that of a married woman. Mr. C. Graham says the above is "much effaced, on a large doorway at Dâma, with beautifully carved grapes and vine-leaves."

The five next are from Edhrâ, or *Ezra* of Burckhardt, the *Zorava* of Antiquity.

12. ΑΜΕΡΙΑΙΟΙΚΕ
ΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΕΟΘΕ
ΜΕΝΩΣΑΣ
ΠΑΛΛΑΛΙΟΕΣΧΟ
ΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΕΣΥΝ
ΥΙΟΙΣΟΤΕΝΩ
ΤΑΣΚΑΙΓΥΥΑ

Ἀμεριαῖο(ς) Κε(ν)
τηνάριος ὁ θε-
με(λι)ώσας,
Παλλά(δ)ιος Σχο-
λ(α)στικὸς σὺν
υἱοῖς ὁ τε(λει)ώ-
(σ)ας. Καὶ (σ)ὺ (τ)ὰ
(διπλᾶ).

"Ameriæus the Centurion (was the person) who laid the foundation, (and) Palladius the Rhetorician, with his sons, was he who completed (the edifice). And may you be doubly happy."

The word *κεντηνάριος* here used is only the Latin *centenarius;* it is thus explained by Vegetius (De Re Milit. lib. ii. cap. 8, edit. 1607):—"Erant etiam *centuriones*, qui singulas *centurias* curabant: qui nunc *centenarii* nominantur." *Scholasticus* occurs in Pliny's Epist. lib. ii. Epist. 3.

The same inscription is given at page 62 of Burckhardt's Syria, and from it I have corrected the above. The latter gives the first word as HBPIAIos. In my copy it is *'Αμεριαῖος*. The name of *Ἄμερος*, Amerus, is not unfrequent; see *infra*, No. 32, and Böckh, Nos. 4559, 84, 89.

The formula *Καὶ σὺ τὰ διπλᾶ*, or *Καὶ σοὶ τὰ διπλᾶ*, is common; and Böckh says before it, "Deest *χαῖρε* vel *εὖ σοὶ*" (*vide* No. 4565, and No. 4457), "quod acclamat viator, cui respondet defunctus, *Καὶ σοὶ τὰ διπλᾶ*, ut sæpius."

13. ΠΙCΤΙΔΙЄΔΡΜЄ + ΘЄΩΔΟΡΟC
ΠΡΟΤЄCΠΟΔΗΚΗΡΙΟΙCЄΝЄΙCΑΘΩΝΑΝΑΤΟΝЄΙΚ
ΤΡΟΦΗΙΒΗΛΙΑЄΥΚΑΓΓЄΛΟΙCC ΝΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΙC +

Πίστ(ε)ι διέδρ(α)με + Θεόδωρος
Προ(δ)εσπό(τ). (καὶ) Κ(ύ)ριοι Σενεις ἀθ(ά)νατον εἰκ(όνα)
(Π)ροφή(τ)ου 'Ηλί(ᾳ) εὖ, κα(ὶ) (ἀ)γγέλοις (ἐ)νουρανίοις +

"He has run through in faith. + Theodorus the Prior, and the Lords Seniors, (placed) the immortal image of the Prophet to Elias happily, and to the heavenly angels. +"

Πίστει διέδραμε, here used, call to mind St. Paul's words, *πίστει διέβησαν*, in Hebrews, chap. xi. v. 29.

This is evidently a Christian inscription; it is also

published at p. 60, in Burckhardt's Syria, but in some respects different from this copy. It is described by him as taken from "the outer wall, on the north side of the *rotunda;*" and he says:—"The church of *St. Elias*, at Ezra, in which the Greeks celebrate divine service, is a *round* building, of which the roof is fallen in, and only the outer wall standing. On its south side is a vestibule supported by three arches, the entrance to which is through a short, arched, dark passage. Over the entrance is the following inscription," of which Buckhardt, at p. 59, gives a very imperfect transcript, and which he writes in four instead of seven lines.

The next is Mr. C. Graham's recent copy of the same:—

14. ΟΙΑΠΟΖΙΟΡΕΞΙΔΙΩΜΥΑΟ
ΝΗΑΙΟΠΡΟΣΠΘΑΜΙΩΑΝΝΟΣ
ΙΕΝΕΘΔΙΑΚΕΝΕΤΙΥΖ
ΕΚΤΙΣΑΝΕΠΙΘΑΡΘΕΟ
ΦΖΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΩΣΠΗΓΑ
Π. ΟΘΣ ΠΟΤΜΟΝΒΟΜΒΩΝ
ΟΣΜΑΣ

(Οὐλ)πόζ(ω)ρ ἐξ ἰδίων ναὸ
ν Ἡλίου προ(φ). σπουδ(ῆ) Ἰωάννο(υ)
Ἰενέου Διακ. ἐν ἔτ(ε)ι $\overline{υζ}$
ἐκτίσ(ε)ν, ἐπὶ Οὐάρου Θεο
φ(ι)λ(ου) ἐπισκόπου Ζωραϐα
$\overline{ς.ΟΘΣ}$ *πότμον Βόμβων*
os Μα(ξ) . . .

"Vulpozor erected, from his own (funds), the temple (church) of the Prophet Elias, by the care of Ioannes Ieneus the Deacon, in the year 407, under Varus Theophilus, the Bishop of *Zorava*. May God the fate of Bombon Maximus . . ."

The first word of Mr. Graham's copy, ΟΙΑΠΟΖΙΟΡ,

may be read ϑΥΛΠΟΖΩΡ, *Vulpozor;* or ΟΥΛΠΟΖΩΡ, *Ulpozor;* or another word like it, and ending in ΩΡ, as Ἐλπήνωρ, *Elpenor*, or Εὐφράνωρ, *Euphranor*. The year 407 must, I think, relate rather to the Pompeian than to the Bostræan era (see *infra*, No. 40), and if so, it will correspond with A.D. 343. Unfortunately, after the word ἐπισκόπου, in the fifth line, the seven following letters, ΩΕΠΗΓΑΠ, are very doubtful; but it is possible that they may mean ΖΩΡΑϑΑΕ, *of Zorava*, which was clearly the ancient name of *Edhrá*, a very early episcopal city (see the inscription No. 16). The sixth line is obscure. If, as I conclude, the abbreviation $\overline{\text{ΟΘC}}$ signifies Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ, it probably expresses some wish. The inscription, however, is of some interest, as it declares that the shrine or the church of the Prophet *Elias*, or, as it is called in Arabic, *Mâr-Elîas*, in Edhrâ or *Ezra*, was erected by *Vulpozor*, with the assistance of the deacon named *Ioannes Ieneus*, and whilst *Varus Theophilus* was bishop; and on the outer wall of the round portion of the same church the inscription No. 13 seems to commemorate the placing of an image of the prophet (Christ) to Elias. The words there used, if I am correct in my attempted restoration, signify that the Prior Theodorus and the lords seniors placed ἀνέθηκαν, a famous or immortal image. Προδεσπότης, or Πρωτοδεσπότης, is the Principal or head of the monastery, and Κυρίοι Σενεις mean the Lords Seniors or Elders, the last being the Latin word *senes* written in Greek letters. After the Romans had settled some time in their new colony of Syria and the Holy Land, it is not surprising that many *Latin* words, occurring in *Greek* characters, should be noticed in their inscriptions and writings. So we may observe,—Κεν-

τηνάριος, Centenarius; Σχολαστικὸς, Scholasticus; Σένεις, Senes; Λεγεὼν, Legio; Γαλλικὴ, Gallica; Φλὰβος, Flavus; Οὐίκτωρ, Victor; Παρουόλος, Parvulus; Οὐετρανὸς, Veteranus; Ἐξορδεναρίως, Extraordinarius; and very many more.

15. ΠΡΙΝΚΙΠΟΣ ΛΕΓ. Γ. ΓΑΛΛΙΚΗΣ
ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΑΤΟ ..... ΟΙΣ
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΗΝΟΔ ..... ΑΙ
ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΚΑ ΔΡΑ .....

Πρίνκιπος λεγ. γ̄. Γαλλικῆς
οἰκοδόμησα τὸ (μνῆμα ἐμ)οῖς
τέκνοις (Ζ)ηνοδ(ώρῳ κ)αὶ
Διομήδῃ κα(ὶ) Δρα(βῳ) . . .

If there be no line wanting before the word *Πρίνκιπος*, then I should translate the inscription thus:—"I Principus of the Third Legion Gallic built (this) sepulchre for my children, Zenodorus, and Diomedes, and Drabus . . ." *Principus* would then be a proper name derived from the Latin; and indeed we know from this line of Phædrus, fab. 7. lib. v., that *Princeps* was the name of a man.

"Lætare, incolumis Roma, salvo *Principe*."

But should there have been a line or two previous to *Πρίνκιπος*, then I take the meaning to be,—"(Some person . . . an officer) of the *Principes* of the Third Legion Gallic, built," etc., ΠΡΙΝΚΙΠΟΣ being probably an error for ΠΡΙΝΚΙΠΩΝ, *i. e.* ΠΡΙΝΚΙΠΩΝ, the genitive case of ΠΡΙΝΚΙΠΕΣ, or, as it is more correctly written, ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΕΣ. The *Principes* in the legion consisted of those foot-soldiers in full health and vigour (see Livy, lib. viii. cap. 8), some interpreting the name from their having been originally placed in the *front* rank.

Böckh (vol. iii. No. 4571) has given a copy of this inscription, but as it is imperfect, I have added this transcript. Instead of *Zenodorus*, he reads *Zenobius*, and for *Δρ* he does not attempt any solution. It seems to me to be *Drabus*, for I find this proper name in a sepulchral inscription in Burckhardt's Syria (p. 69), which he observed at Rima-el-Loehf, distant about six hours from Edhrâ on the south-east.

16. ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑCΚΑΙΝΙΚΗCΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΗΜΩΝΑΥΤΟΥ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥCΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ-.....ΕΥCΕΒΟΥCΕΥΤΥΧ
ΩΝΙΑCΖΟΡΑΟΥΗΝΩΝΕΚΤΙCΕΑΝΤΟΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝΙ

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκ(ράτορος Μ) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου (Ἀλεξάνδρου) εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχ. (σεβ. Δεκυρί) ων(ε)ς Ζοραούηνῶν ἔκτισαν τὸ βαλανεῖον (δημόσιον.)

"With Good Fortune.

"For the safety and victory of our lord the Emperor *M. Aurelius Severus* (*Alexander*), Pious, Happy, Augustus, the Decurions of the Zoravenans erected the Public Bath."

This inscription is the same as No. 4562 of Böckh (vol. iii. p. 250), which was copied by Richter from above the gate of a minaret-tower in Edhrâ. Buckingham and Seetzen also made transcripts of the same. Gesenius supplied the vacancy in the third line with *Ἀλεξάνδρου*, which, Böckh observes, "Dubium est an de industriâ deletum sit." Mr. C. Graham, however, in his copy, says, "The name has been carefully effaced."

At the end of the third line and beginning of the fourth, Francke suggested the words "(*οἱ ἀπὸ μητροκ*)-*ωμίας.*" But Böckh has restored the same with "(*τὸ κοινὸν τῆς μητροκ*)*ωμίας.*" With neither of their restora-

tions can I agree, for they are both evidently much *too long* for the part wanting at the end of the third line. I think the word ΔΕΚΥΡΙΩΝΕC, *Decuriones*, is of itself quite sufficient for the space and for the sense; indeed, the first letters of the fourth line seem indistinct for ΩΝΕC, the third letter, A, being a mistake for E or H, and that the *Decurions*, the municipal or public officers of the *Zoravenans*, built (ἐκτισέαντο, as the inscription may be erroneously cut for ἐκτίσαν τὸ) βαλανεῖον (δημόσιον), the *public* (as I suggest) bath, in the city.

Upon further consideration, however, I prefer the following restoration of the latter part of this inscription:—

. . . . . εὐτυχ. (κοινὸν τῆς κ)
ώμ(η)ς Ζοραούηνῶν ἔκτισε (το)ῦτο βαλανεῖον (δημόσιον.)
. . . . . "Happy, the community
of the Town of the Zoravenans erected this Public Bath."

And it appears to me to agree better with the original transcript. The expression κοινὸν τῆς κώμης also, *without* the article τὸ, is correct, as is proved from the last line of the inscription given in No. 38 and No. 39, where ὑπὸ κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης occurs, and not ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης.

This *inscription* then determines that the "*cloistered quadrangle*, the original purpose of which it is *impossible* to tell," mentioned in Porter's 'Handbook,' just published (p. 533), was no other than a spacious Roman *public bath*. That traveller, in his previous work on 'Damascus' (vol. ii. p. 227), thus more particularly describes the same noble remains:—"Proceeding northward, we reached a lofty *square tower*, with two or three Greek inscriptions on and beside it. Here is a spacious *quadrangle* encompassed *with*

arcades, and having the centre almost filled up with heaps of ruins composed of hewn stones and fragments of *columns*. Around it are the remains of large private dwellings. There are in this place the evidences of different periods and orders of architecture;" and, as he says in his 'Handbook,' "a double range of Doric columns of a larger size is now completely prostrate. It appears to have been first designed by the Romans, after their usual style of taste and splendour, but being afterwards in part ruined, it was repaired during the early centuries of Saracenic rule, and finally used as a mosque."

This description of the *Public Bath* at Ezra, erected by the Decurions in the third century of our era, seems to agree, in respect of its general form, porticoes, columns, etc., with that splendid example at Rome, known as the "Baths of Caracalla."

The people here called *Ζοραουηνοὶ*, or inhabitants of *Zorava*, determine that the name of their city was *Ζοραούα*, which at this day is corrupted into *Ezra*, according to Burckhardt, and according to others into *Edhrâ*; and if Gesenius be correct, that it is the place called in Josephus (Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 15. s. 4) "Zara," this appellation, abbreviated from *Zorava*, is still retained, since *Ezra* or *Azra* is the same word. And it seems to be the "locum celebrem et famosum, *Zora* nomine," situated in the Trachonitis, now *El-Lejah*, in Syria, which is so described by William, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History (Belli Sacri, lib. xxii. cap. 20). But this *Zara*, or *Zora*, must not be confounded with *Zoara*, the *Ζώαρα* of Josephus (Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 1. s. 4), which was near the Dead Sea, towards its south-eastern extremity. The date

of the inscription itself is very probably A.D. 232, when the Emperor Alexander Severus gained a victory over the Persians in the East, or perhaps the following year; but the exact date cannot be discovered, from the absence of the *titular formula*, in which the consulship and the tribunitian power usually occur.

The four following inscriptions, being of no particular interest, except the fourth (No. 20), might have been omitted, were it not that Mr. Cyril Graham had copied them at E'-Nemareh,—meaning 'The Panthers,'—a place in the Syrian, or rather Arabian, Desert, much to the east of Gebel-Haurân, in a district named El-Harrah, and which was first visited by himself.

17. ΦΛΑΙΟC
ωCIBΕΟ

Φλα(ού)ιος
(σ)ωζ(έσ)θω

"Let Flavius be saved."

The first word may be ΦΛΑΒΟC, for *Flavus*, as the Latin *V* was sometimes written in Greek with a *B*. So *Βίκτωρ* occurs in Eusebius for *Victor*, whilst the same word is written in Photius *Οὐίκτωρ*. Hence *Φλάβιος* for *Flavius*.

18. ΕΤΝΑωΥΡΑΝωΜΗΤΟΝΚ . . . . . Κ

. . . *ετνα ουρανό(π)η(κ)τον κ . . . . κ*

19. ΦΛΑΙC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC

Φλα(ού)ι(ος) Ἀδριάνος.

"Flavius (or Flavus) Adrianus."

20. CΑΒΕΙΝΟC ΒΑΝΙΟΥ
ΓΑΔΔΟ ΟCΔΡ

ρmζ

Σαβεῖνος Βανίου
Φάδδῳ Ὀσ(α)ρ . . .
ρμ̄ζ̄

"Sabinus (the son) of Banius (dedicated this) to Vaddus Osar? . . . 147."

In Mr. Porter's inscription No. 5 (see Trans. Rl. Soc. Lit. Vol. V. ser. 2. p. 256), the name of *Addus*, Ἄδδου, occurs, and Ἀδδί, *Addi*, in St. Luke iii. 28. Here it appears to be written with the digamma, and so pronounced *Vaddus* or *Faddus*. Indeed *Addi* or *Addus* seems to have belonged to six or seven different individuals: see the 'Acts of *Addi*,' vol. vii. p. 423, 'Journal of Sacred Literature.' It is there written, "*Addi* is often confounded with *Thaddeus*, who was however quite a different person, being, as we know, one of the Twelve Apostles, while Addi was one of the Seventy Disciples whom our Lord sent out to preach the Gospel. It is easy to perceive how this mistake arose, there being a certain resemblance in the two names." Also, "the Acts of Addi, extant in Syriac, in the British Museum, Add. MSS. No. 14,644, are entered in the Catalogue as the *Acts of Thaddeus*; and the same error is repeated in the lettering of the volume." This error appears to me to have originated from this use of the digamma *F*, or, as it was sometimes written, Φ. Thus Φαδδί, or Φαδδαῖος, and thence Θαδδαῖος, *Thaddæus*, by the copyists mistaking the Φ for Θ. If the three last letters of the inscription be, as I suppose, numerals, the year 147 would correspond with A.D. 83, according to the Pompeian epoch; and there can be no objection at this period to the Græco-Roman use of the digamma, for we know that the Emperor Claudius expressly used it only about thirty

years before (see Trans. Rl. Soc. Lit., vol. iii. ser. 1. p. 255, *note* 19).

The four inscriptions that follow were copied at *Kunawát*, the *Kanouat* of Burckhardt, the *Kenath* of the Bible, which was subsequently named *Kanatha*.

21. ΠΑΙΑΓΕΚΑΙ
ΜΗΦΘΟΝΙ

Πά(ρ)αγε καὶ
μὴ φθόν(ε)ι.

"Pass on and envy not."

This is not an uncommon form of a Christian inscription. Burckhardt has given one at p. 66, which he copied at Medjel.

22. ΘΕΩΝΑΚΟ
ΟVΡΘΥΟΛΟ
ΙΥΥΛΙΑΝΟC

Θεο(μ)ά(χ)ῳ
Παρ(ο)υόλῳ
(Κλα)υ(δ)ιανός.

"To Theomachus Parvulus, Claudianus."

23. ΙΧΕΝΗΜΗΔΟΛΩΖΠΟΓΕ
ΙΑΣΜΕΡΕΖΙΝΕΝΛΛΕΥ
ΟVΚΟΔΟΜΟΖΝΕΚΡΙΗΛ

Ἰχένης Ἡδολους ποτε
Ιασμερες ινενλλευ
Οἰκοδόμος Νεκρίης

The second line is too doubtful to make anything of. Ichenes, Hedolous, and Necria seem proper names.

24. ΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΜΑΙΟΣ ΛΕΓΕ ------
Ο ΗΡΟΔΟΥΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΖΕΟ

Ῥιππας Φιλόκαισαρ
Μαῖος λεγε(ῶνος) . . .
ὁ Ἡρώδου καθίστατο.

"Rhippas Philocæsar Maius of the Legion . . . the (son) of Herod placed."

This was copied at *Malah*, to the east of Ormau, the ancient *Philippopolis*.

25. ЄΚΉΚΟΦЄΓ
ΓΟΝCΤ Γ
ΚΛΙCЄ ΟC···· ΙЄ
ΦΛΙ ΓΟΡΠΟC

Ἐκ (πρ)οφήτ(ου)
Τονετ γ
καὶ (θ)ε(ῖ)ος . . . ιξ
Φλ(αουίου) Γορπος

"From the prophet . . . Flavius Gorpus . . ."

In Böckh (vol. iii. No. 4519) the name of *Γορπιαῖος*, *Gorpiæus*, is seen. Also from *Malah*, Mr. C. Graham observes that Nos. 25 and 26 "are both inverted and much effaced; the last (No. 26) is a long inscription, but only these letters could be read:"—

26. ΓΟΛΟΥΟ
ЄΤΟЧЄ Τξδ

Σολ(ού)φ
ἔτους τξδ.

"To Solvus, of the year 364."

If the date be of the Pompeian era, the year 364 will be A.D. 300; but if of the Bostræan era, A.D. 468.

Mr. Graham "first visited *Malkyeh* in the east of the northern Hauran," where he found the following inscription "on the door of a large public building:"—

27. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙCΟΛΙΚΟΥΜΑΛΚΟΥΕ-ΝΑΙ
ΧΟΝΤΙΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΟΜΑΔΩΝΤΟΜ⁝ΗΜΙΟΝΕ
ΓΩΝΑΒΑΛΔΟCΑΔΕΛΦΟCΕΤΩΝΚΗ

Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καισολίκου Μάλκουην(ου) ἄ(ρ)
χοντ(όσ)τρατηγοῦ Νομάδων τὸ μνημεῖον ἐ(ξ ἰδ)
ίων Ἀβαλδος ἀδελφός. Ἐτῶν κη.

"Abaldus (his) brother (made), at his own cost, the sepulchre of Adrianus (the son) of Cæsolicus, an inhabitant of *Malcova*, the chief (or commanding) officer of the *Nomades*. Of years 28."

The ancient name may have been *Μαλκουα*, *Malcova*; but I cannot find any mention of it. The *Νομάδες* here named may have been a local band of Arabian soldiers.

The next is from *Mashkûk*, to the south of Salkhad, the *Salchah* of the Bible. The inscription, being "inverted," was of course more difficult to copy correctly.

28. ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΕΥΤΥΧΩCΕ
ΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗΟΠΥΡΓΟC
ΒΑCCOCOΑΥΤΡΝΟCΕξΟΡ
ΔΕΝΑΡΙ⊍CPᴬ∏ΟΜΕΝΟCΕΟ
ΜΕCΟΠΟΤΟΜΙΑΑCΟΡΑΙΝΙΟC
ΟΙΚΟΔC . . . . . ΗΤΟΥC / CΜΕ

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Εὐτυχῶς οἰ-
κοδομήθη ὁ πύργος.
Βάσσος (ο)ὐ(ε)τρ(α)νὸς ἐξορ- *ἔτους*
δεναρίως στρατευόμενος ἐ(ν) */ σμε*
Μεσοποτ(α)μίᾳ Ὀ(σ)ρ(ο)αίνιος
οἰκοδό(μησε) . . .

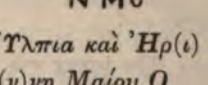
"To Good Fortune. The tower was built successfully. Bassus, an inhabitant of *Osroëne*, an extraordinary veteran, having performed military service in Mesopotamia, erected . . .

"Of the year 245."

The word *Οὐετρανὸς* is merely the Latin *Veteranus*, which occurs in Burckhardt's Syria, in an inscription at p. 90, line 6, Θ being there a misprint for *O* (see the *Errata*). Also *ἐξορδεναρίως* is Latin, meaning that Bassus was a *veteran*, who had served *beyond* the *ordinary* number of years in the army. The date on the right, $\overline{\sigma\mu\varepsilon} = 245$, is probably of the *Pompeian* era; if so, = A. D. 181, which would be in the reign of Commodus. The last word in the fifth line is apparently *Ὀσροαίνιος*, an inhabitant of *Osroëne*, *Ὀσροηνη*, a country in northern Mesopotamia. Dion Cassius (Hist. Rom. lib. xl. cap. 20) gives the word *Ὀσροηνὸς*, *Osroënan;* he also writes of that people in A. U. C. 965, about thirty years subsequently, in the time of Caracalla. But Orellius has preserved an inscription from Rome in his Inscript. Lat. Select. vol. i. No. 921, in which the word *Osroënorum*, or *Osrhoënorum*, is cut "Orrhenorum," and which, he says, "spectat ad tempora Severi vel Caracallæ."

This was found at *Musmeih*, which Burckhardt writes 'Missema,' upon "a slab lying on the ground." This place seems anciently to have been named *Phæna*, *Φαινὰ*, and its inhabitants *Φαινήσιοι*, *Phænesii*, according to three inscriptions preserved in Böckh, vol. iii. Nos. 4542–3–4.

29.



Ὕλπια καὶ Ἡρ(ι)
(ν)νη Μαίου Ο
ἰμαιους τὸ
(μ)ν(ῆ)μ(α)

"Ulpia and Erinna (placed) the sepulchre of Maius Oimæes."

Or perhaps, *Ὑλπιατα ἡ γ*
υνὴ Μαίου Ο
ἰμαιους τὸ
(μ)ν(ῆ)μ(α)

"Ulpiata the wife of Maius Oimæes placed the sepulchre."

The name of *Maius* also occurs *ante*, No. 24.

The next two are from Orman, the former *Philippopolis*.

30. CAIↃOΘ
AIMOY
OIKOΔO
MOCЄY
Σαισόθ
αιμου(ς)
οἰκοδό
μ(η)σε(ν)

"Sæsothæmous built."

31. ЄΠAY *Ἐπαύ*
CЄTO *σατο*
ANΘO *Ἄνθο*
CЄTOYC *ς. Ἔτους*
CΛЄ *σλε.*
MHΛ *Μη(νὸς)*
Δ Є *Δ ε.*
I D I D

"Anthus died. In the year 235, in the month December, on the Ides."

I D, being in Latin letters, mean, I conclude, the *ides*, and if so, *μηνὸς Δε.* signify doubtless, 'of the month *De*cember.' The word *ἐπαύσατο*, *ceased to live*, indicates that Anthus was a Christian. The year

235 is evidently of the *Bostræan* era, as the Emperor Philippus was born at Bostra, and was the founder of *Philippopolis;* it will therefore answer to A.D. 339. But in an inscription found by Burckhardt (p. 98, No. 1) at Orman, the name of the city, *Φιλιππουπόλεως* is seen, and the year $\overline{\sigma\nu\gamma}$=253. Böckh, in referring (iii. No. 4635) it to the Pompeian era, which would be A.D. 189, is wrong, for no doubt it is to be calculated by the Bostræan era, and consequently = A.D. 357. In fact, in A.D. 189, in the reign of Commodus, that city had not been built, as history tells us it was founded by Philippus in A.D. 244, fifty-five years afterwards. And Ritter (Erdkunde, 15 theil, p. 954), mentioning the same inscription, is also in error in considering the 'jahr 253' as 'p. X. n.' "post Christum natum." The dating by the *Christian* era was not *invented* by the Roman monk Dionysius until A.D. 516, and it did not come into use in the East till about the death of Mahomet. See further, Gibbon's last note to his fortieth chapter.

Mr. Graham transcribed the next at *Sÿbbein*, to the south-west of Dama, from "a stone lying on the ground."

32.	ΙΔΑΜΟC	*Ἰδάμος*
	ΑΜЄΡ	*Ἀμερ(ου)*
	ΑΝЄΘΗ /	*ἀνέθη(κε)*
	ЄΗΘЄѠ	*ε (τ)ῇ θεᾳ*

"Idamus (the son of) Amerus placed (this) to the Goddess."

Amerus is not uncommon; see *ante*, No. 12.

Nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37, were copied by Mr. C. Graham at *Um-el-Jemál* (meaning, 'Mother of the Camels'), which is supposed to be the *Beth-Gamul*,

'House of the Camels,' of Jeremiah xlviii. 23. The ruined and deserted town is situate to the south-west of Busrah, and was first visited by him in 1857. It is laid down in Burckhardt's maps.

Nos. 33 and 34 are Latin.

33. IMPCAESMAVPANTONINO
AVGARIMAPIMEICEB .....M

Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonino
Aug. Arme. (P)arth. fieri (curavit) M....

"To the Emperor Cæsar M. *Aurelius Antoninus* Augustus Arme-(niacus Parthicus), M..... (ordered this) to be made."

This was transcribed "from a stone lying on the ground (but much injured), under an arch, evidently *Roman*." The Emperor here mentioned is, I believe, M. Aurelius (Philosophus), the same as in No. 3; and the date, most likely, of the Roman Arch to which the stone so inscribed doubtless belonged, is A.D. 166, or soon afterwards; for in that year this Emperor received the honorary titles which I have corrected as above, the repetition of 'Arim.' or '*Arme.*' being clearly an error, either in the cutting or copying of the inscription. "Armeniacus" and "Parthicus" were then conferred in consequence of the submission of Armenia and the victory over the Parthians.

34. OROS VALLIPERHOMNSVR....
SEVEROLECAM RPCOCDI

Oros(io) Valliperho, M. N. Syr(us) ...
Severo (D)ec(u)m(ano) R. P. Coc(ce)i(us).

"M. N. Syrus to Orosius Valliperhus. R. P. Cocceius to Severus Decumanus."

These names are from a "stone much mutilated," and are conjecturally supplied.

The following is "on a house at *Um-el-Jemâl.*"

35.

ΟΔΑΙ
ΝΑΘΟ
ϹϹΑΝ Ρ
Ο ⋏
ΕΤ ⋏ Λ

'Οδαι
νάθο
ς ἐ(π)αύ(σ)α
(τ)ο. (Ε)ν
ἔτει λ̄.

"Odænathus ceased (to live). In (his) year 30."

36. ϟΕΟΘ̄ϹΔΗΚΑϹ ≡ ΤȣϹΑΔΙΚȣΝΤΑϹ ≡ ΑΥ ≡ ȣϹΤΗϹΗ
ΔΝΙ

(Νεμεσήσ)ειε ὁ θεὸς δ(ί)κας (ἐπὶ) τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας (τ)οὺ(ς τάφ)ους τῆς 'Η(ριννῆς καὶ) . . . .

δνῑ.

"(May) God (distribute) justice (upon) those acting unjustly to the tombs of E(rinna, and) . . . 453."

Τῆς 'Ηριννης, of *Erinna?* or some similar name of a woman and of *other* persons, whose names have been lost. ΔΝΙ seems to be the date; if so, the last numeral Ι=10, is clearly miscopied, most likely for Τ=300, consequently it should be read from right to left, *δντ̄*=453. From the position of this ancient city to the S.W. of Busrah, and which is visible from its castle, I think there can be no doubt that it must be considered as of the *Bostræan* epoch. The year 354, therefore, will answer to A.D. 459, and which the mode of writing, especially of the ȣ, appears to confirm.

37. ΤȣΤΩ + ΝΙΚΑϹΒΟΗΘΙ

Τούτῳ + νικᾷς Βοήθι(ε)

"Thou, O Boethius, conquerest by this +."

This, of course, is taken from Constantine's vision of the Cross, on which was the well-known inscription, *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*, about A.D. 312.

Nos. 36 and 37 are, according to Mr. C. Graham, "in *red* letters on a large building at *Um-el-Jemâl*;" —possibly the "large building" may once have been a monastery.

This last is from *Um-e'-Zeitûn*, i.e. 'Mother of the Olives.' Burckhardt writes this Druse village *Om-Ezzeitoun*; and he adds (Syria, p. 218), "It appears, by the extent of its ruins, to have been formerly a town of some note." Its ancient name has not yet been discovered.

38. ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ.
ΥΠΕΡϹΩΤΗΡΙΑϹΚΑΙΝΙΚΗϹΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΗΜΩΝ
ΑΥΡΠΡΟΒΟΝ
ϹΕΒΕϹΤΒΡΤΙϹΟΡΗΙΕΡΑΚΑΙΒΗΥΠΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΗϹ
ΚΩΜΗϹΕΝΤΥΧΩϹ

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου ἡμῶν (*M*).
Αὐρ. Προβο(υ)
Σεβ. ϵ(ὐσϵ)β (ἐκ)τίσ(θ)(η) ἡ ἱερὰ κα(λύ)βη ὑπὸ κοινο(ῦ) τῆς κώμης, ϵ(ὐ)τυχῶ(ς)

"With Good Fortune.

"For the safety and victory of our lord (*M.*) *Aurelius Probus* Augustus Pious, the sacred cella was built by the community of the town, fortunately."

Mr. Cyril Graham does not state from what building he copied this, but Burckhardt has given (Syria, p. 219) a fragmentary inscription which he took from "a small temple, of which an arch of the interior" (*cella*, I conclude) "and the gate only remain," and which I have no doubt is the same.

This is from Burckhardt's copy.

39. ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΥΠΕΡCωΤΗΡΙΑCΚΑΙΝΕΙΚΗς
ΤΟΥΚ .. — —— . ———— .. — .
. - - - - - . ——— — — . ———
- .. — -- . —— —. . . ——. — . —
. — — - — — . — — — — —— — .
—. — — ———— . ——. — . ΚΟΙΝΟΥ
ΤΗCΚωΜΗCΕΥΤΥΧως

Böckh (vol. iii. No. 4592) has also published this (No. 39); and respecting the restoration of the last two lines, he writes, "Franckius (Richter'sche Inschriften, p. 128) conjecit fuisse ᾠκοδομήθη ἐκ τοῦ) κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης." This is the sense, though not conveyed in the exact words. Böckh then continues, "Potest etiam esse ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ) κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης," which, indeed, with the exception of the article τοῦ, is the *true* reading. Having made so correct a conjecture, he is unfortunate in his final observation: "Sed Imperator, ne agnosceretur, cavit is qui delevit vocabula," for Burckhardt says *not* a word about the *erasure* of any portion of the inscription.

Some person might, however, object to the identity of No. 39 with No. 38, inasmuch as the former is marked out as having eight lines instead of three.[5] This difference arises merely from Burckhardt, or his editor, having paid no great attention to the number of lines in which the inscriptions were originally executed, and in proof of this the following example will suffice. Mr. Graham gave me a copy of the inscription from the church of St. George at Edhrâ (*Ezra*), which is written in fourteen lines, whilst Burckhardt's

[5] The inscription No. 38 was copied by Mr. Graham in *three* lines; but the last two have been divided in order to insert them more neatly into the page.

copy (at pp. 60, 61) is printed in nine long lines. And Mr. Graham assured me, on my express inquiry, that in making his transcripts he had carefully followed every line which the original inscriptions presented.

The following is Mr. Graham's copy :—

10. ΘΕΟΥΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΟΙΚΟCΤΟΤΩΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΚΑΤΑ.
ΩΓΙΟΝ+ΦΩCCΩΤΗΡΙΟΝΕΛΑΜψΕΝΟΠΟΥ
ΣΚΟΤΟCΕΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΝ+ΟΠΟΥΘΥCΙΑΙΕΙΔΩ
ΛΩΝΝΥΝΧΟΡΟΙΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ+ΟΠΟΥΘΕΟC
ΠΑΡΩΡΤΙΖΕΤΟΝΥΝΘΕΟCΕξΕΥΜΕΝΙΖΕΤΑΙ+
ΑΝΗΡΤΙCΦΙΛΟΧΡΙCΤΟCΟΠΡΩΤΕΥΩΝΙΩΑΝ
ΝΗCΔΙΟΜΗΔΕΩCΥΙΟC+ΕξΙΔΙΩΝΔΩΡΟΝ
ΘΕΩΠΡΟCΗΝΕΓΚΕΝΑξΙΟΘΕΑΤΟΝ
ΚΤΙCΜΑ+ΙΔΡΥCΑCΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΤΟΥ
ΚΑΛΛΙΝΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ+ΤΟΤΙΜΙΟΝΝΙψΑΝΟΝ
ΤΟΥΦΑΝΕΝΤΟCΑΥΤΩΙΩΑΝΝΗC+
ΟΥΚΑΘΥΠ ΝΟΝΑΛΛΑΦΑΝΕΡΩCΕΝΕΤΙ
Θ ΕΤΟΥC ΥΙ

Θεοῦ γέγονεν οἶκος τὸ τῶν δαιμόν(ων) κατα(γ)
ώγιον+Φῶς σωτήριον ἔλαμψεν ὅπου
σκότος ἐκαλύπτεν+Ὅπου θυσίαι εἰδώ
λων, νῦν χοροὶ ἀγγέλων+Ὅπου Θεὸς
παρωρ(γ)ίζετο, νῦν Θεὸς ἐξευμενίζεται+
Ἀνήρ τις φιλόχριστος ὁ πρωτεύων Ἰωάν
νης Διομηδέως υἱὸς+ἐξ ἰδίων δῶρον
Θεῷ προσήνεγκεν ἀξιοθέατον
κτίσμα+ἱδρύσας ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ
καλλιν(ίκ)ου ἁγίου μάρτυρος
Γεωργίου+τὸ τίμιον (λε)ίψανον
τοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ Ἰωάννῃ+
οὐ καθ' ὕπνον, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς. Ἐν ἔτ(ε)ι
Θ. ἔτους ῡι.

"The abode of demons has become a house of
God + A saving light has shone forth where
darkness did conceal + where there were sacrifices
to idols, (there are) now quires of Angels + Where God
was provoked, now God is propitiated +
A certain man, a lover of Christ, the Prior *Ioan*
nes the son of *Diomedes* + from his own funds
offered a gift to God, an edifice worthy
to be seen + Placing in this the esteemed
relic of the gloriously
victorious Holy Martyr
George + who appeared to *Ioannes* himself +
not in a vision, but manifestly. In the year
$\bar{9}$, of the year $\overline{410}$."

The first line, or "The *inn* of demons has become a *house* of God," is in sense the converse of the words of the Prophet, and which were quoted by Christ as follows:—'*Ο οἶκός μου, οἶκος προσευχῆς ἐστιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπήλαιον λῃστῶν* (Luke xix. 46).

'In the year 9 of the year 410' seems evidently to be the date of the dedication of the church of St. George, which originally had been a heathen temple, and being of some chronological interest, it will require more examination.

Colonel Leake, the editor of Burckhardt, in a note, remarks,—"A.D. 410. This was the third year of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, in whose reign the final decrees were issued against the Pagan worship." This indeed cannot be, for the computation by the *Christian era* was *not invented* until long afterwards, viz. in A.D. 516, and it was *not used* in the East till a much later period. The date ETOYC $\overline{\text{YI}}$, 'of the year 410,' must then be determined either from the *Pompeian* era or from that of *Bostra*. As to the first, Böckh (vol. iii. Nos. 4635, 4641) makes the *Pompeian*

era to begin B.C. 64, therefore 'the year 410' would correspond with A.D. 346, and the first part of this date, 'in the year 9,' ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ Θ̄, must, I consider, refer to the *year* 9 of the reign of the then Emperor; but in the year A.D. 346, Constans and Constantius were co-emperors, their brother Constantinus having been killed six years before. As the three brothers began their reign in A.D. 337, consequently 'the year 9' would also agree with A.D. 346 (see also *ante*, No. 14). Next, as to the *Bostræan era*, Böckh (*ibid.*, Nos. 4648, 4651) takes this era to commence in A.D. 104; 'the year 410' would thus answer to A.D. 514; and the then emperor of Constantinople being Anastasius I., who commenced his reign in A.D. 491, 'the year 9' would correspond with A.D. 500. But these two dates do not synchronize by this computation, as the year A.D. 514 would be 'the *year* 23' of the then Emperor (*Anastasius*), which in Greek would be ἐν ἔτει κγ̄. Hence it appears that the first is the true computation, and that 'in the year 9 of the year 410' really signifies, according to our modern style, in the year 9 of the co-emperors (*Constans* and *Constantius*), of the year of our Lord 346.

Here, however, another chronological difficulty arises. This church, according to the inscription, was dedicated by a certain Ioannes, the son of Diomedes, as an edifice worthy to be seen, and in which he placed the esteemed relic of the holy martyr *George* (*Ἁγίου Μάρτυρος Γεωργίου.*) This Saint, *El-Khouder*, as the Arabs call him, could not be the infamous *George* of Cappadocia, because he was not killed at Alexandria until the close of A.D. 361, in the first year of the Emperor *Julian*, fifteen years subsequently. But *another St. George* is

related by some writers to have been an officer in the household of Diocletian, and in the reign of that emperor (about 287–90) to have suffered *martyrdom* in Nicomedia. The latter must then be the 'Holy Martyr *George*' here spoken of, and the date of whose death is perfectly in accordance with the years now determined; and I feel satisfied that these writers are correct, and that from the time of the Crusades the lives and acts of the *two Georges*, namely, the '*Holy* Martyr George,' most probably of Syria, and the notorious 'pseudo-martyr,' called '*George* of Cappadocia,' have been confounded, and referred entirely to the last, and to whom the honours of being the tutelary saint of England have been incorrectly assigned.

I will then briefly notice some accounts of the famous George, the esteemed saint of Syria, and who has been for nearly eight centuries the chivalrous patron of our own country.

In the 'Golden Legende,' by Caxton, is given the 'Life of St. George,' from which, as the book is very rare, and not easily obtained for perusal by the general reader, I extract these passages[6]—

"In ye Kalender of Bede it is sayd y^t^ Saynt George suffred martyrdom in *Parsydye*, in ye cyte of *Dyapolyn*.[7] And in other places it is redde y^t^ he resteth in ye cite of *Dyspolyn*, whiche tofore was called *Lyde*, whiche is

[6] From the edition of 1527, by Wynkyn de Worde.

[7] Bede must here mean the city of *Dia*, *Diapolis*, or *Diaspolis*, which was situated in the north of Bithynia, on the Euxine; and by "Parsydye" he must intend *Persia*; for Bithynia became a portion of that empire after Lydia was destroyed by Cyrus. In fact, Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia, where Diocletian resided (*vide* Aurel. Victor. Hist. Rom. Epit. cap. 39, s. 5), was the place of St. George's martyrdom.

by[8] ye cyte of *Joppen*, or *Japh*. And in another place it is sayd that he suffred deth under Dyoclesyen and Maximyen, whiche y^t^ tyme were Emperours. And in other place, under Dyoclesyan, Emperour of Perse. . . . And it is sayd here that he suffred deth under Dacyen, the prouost (*præfectus*). Than Dyoclesyen and Maxymyen beynge Emperours" (fo. cxi.).

"His heed was smytten of aboute the yere of our Lord ii.c.lxxxvii." (A.D. 287).

"Bytwene Jherusalem and porte *Japhe*, by a towne called *Ramys*, is a chapell of Saynt George, whiche is now desolate and uncouered, and therein dwell Chrysten Grekes, and in the sayd chapel lyeth ye body of Saynt George, but not ye heed" (fo. cxiii.).

The above I take to be a translation from the Latin original, as written by Giacomo di Voragine, the Archbishop of Genoa, towards the end of the thirteenth century, and to which our Caxton has added the following statement, which was most likely his own composition :—

"This blyssed and holy martyr Saynt George is patron of this realme of Englond, and ye crye of men of warre. In the worshyp of whom is founded ye noble Ordre of ye Garter, and also a noble college in the castel of Wyndsore by Kynges of Englonde, in whiche college is ye hert of Saint George, whiche Sygysmond, the Emperour of Almayne, brought, and gaue it for a grete and a precyous relyke to Kyng Henry the *fyfth* (1416), and also ye sayd Sygismond was a broder of ye sayd Garter.[9] And also there is a pece of his heed" (fo. cxiii.).

[8] So in Acts ix. 38, it is written, "Lydda was *nigh* to Joppa."

[9] *Sigismond*, the Emperor of Germany, appears the first of the

Other relics of St. George had previously been preserved in the Royal Chapel at Windsor, which was founded in the twenty-second year of Edward III. (1348), as appear from a register taken in the eighth year of Richard II. (1384), and published in Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum' (vol. vi. part 3, 1830), such as a part of the arm and a bone of St. George.

The best and most satisfactory opinion of those who have written on the martyrdom of St. George is, that he suffered in the early persecution of the Christians under Diocletian. Eusebius Cæsariensis, however, who was contemporary with him, does not seem to mention him by *name*, but he describes in the eighth book of his 'Ecclesiastical History' the deaths of many martyrs of that period. In chapter iv. he writes,—"It cannot be told how many and what sort of Christian martyrs were to be seen in all cities and places,"—*οὐδ' ἐστι λόγῳ δυνατὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι, ὅσους καὶ ὁποίους τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας ὀφθαλμοῖς παρῆν ὁρᾶν, τοῖς ἀνὰ πάσας τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας οἰκοῦσιν.*[10] Again, the next chapter he entitles, "Concerning those things which were done at *Nicomedia*;" and chapter vi., "Concerning those who were employed in the palace." In it he describes especially the cruelties inflicted on some one, and then states, "of the same kind was the martyrdom of *Peter*, one of the Emperor's chamberlains." He mentions further, that of *Anthimus*, the Bishop of Nicomedia. Having

twenty-six Knights of the Garter installed in the reign of Henry V., and the hundred and tenth from the commencement of that noble Order. The admonitions on the investiture of the Order run thus:—"In memorial of the blessed Martyr and Soldier of Christ, St. George."

[10] Eusebii Pamphili Eccles. Hist. à Gul. Reading: Cantab, 1720.

observed that "for the sake of brevity he would pass over the no less cruel martyrdoms of the rest," he expressly names *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, of the Imperial household, "who obtained the rewards of the divine victory." These are his words:—*Τοσοῦτον ἱστορήσαντες, ὡς ὅγε Δωρόθεος καὶ ὁ Γοργόνιος, ἑτέροις ἅμα πλείοσι τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκετείας, μετὰ τοὺς πολυτρόπους ἀγῶνας βρόχῳ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάξαντες, τῆς ἐνθέου νίκης ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα.* Unless, therefore, we should suppose that *Γοργόνιος*,—*Gorgonius*,—has been a mistake in transcribing for *Γεώργιος*,—*Georgius*,—I can find no other name *similar* to that of our Saint. And indeed this supposition is by no means unlikely, inasmuch as we find in Smith's Dictionary (Greek and Roman Biography), s. v. *Gargonius*, that that name was written "*Gargonius*, or *Gorgonius*, or *Gargius*," thence *Gŏrgius*.[11] So Gibbon, in a note to his sixteenth chapter (edit. 1788), writes the name of the martyred Bishop, or *Προεστὼς*, of Nicomedia, *Anthimius;* whilst some later editions give it *Anthemius;* but the word which occurs in the edition of Eusebius, which I consulted, is merely *'Ανθιμος*.

The most recent traveller in Syria, the Rev. J. L. Porter, thus writes in his Handbook (p. 278):—"All Englishmen will regard" *Lydda*, or Diospolis, *Lod* of the Bible (1 Chron. viii. 12), and now *Ludd*, "with peculiar interest, as the reputed birthplace of their patron Saint, and the place where he was first specially honoured. The earliest calendars relate that

[11] I find in Banduri's Numis. Imp. Rom., tom. ii. (*Lut. Par.* 1718), pp. 753, 758, the word Γεώργιος (*St. George*) is abbreviated on the coins of Alexius and Manuel Comnenus thus, ΓЄ℘ΓΙΟC, which might easily be mistaken for ΓΕΡΓΙΟC, *Gergius* or *Gorgius*.

St. George was born at *Lydda*, suffered martyrdom in Nicomedia, under Diocletian, near the close of the third century,[12] and that his body was conveyed to his native town, where a church was erected in his honour. William of Tyre ascribes its erection to *Justinian*." Again, at *Ramleh*, about forty-five minutes distant from *Ludd*, and on the road from Jerusalem to Japho, or *Joppa* (Acts ix. 38), Mr. Porter says, "the Crusaders held a great feast, in 1099, in honour of St. George, and formally installed him as their *patron*,[13] on account of the miracle he had wrought in their favour at Antioch. The homage paid to him there prepared the way for his advancement to higher honours. England soon adopted him, and other countries of Europe followed the example."

These accounts then fully illustrate those which I have cited from the 'Golden Legende;' and I must observe that the words "*by a towne* called *Ramys* is a chapell of Saynt George,"[14] must mean *at Ludd*, near or "by the town of Ramleh," where, according to Mr. Porter, was a church[15] erected to him. In it was deposited his body, excepting the *head* and *heart* and a bone or two, which were taken as *relics* to other sacred spots; but what may have been the τίμιον[16]

[12] These are nearly Dr. Robinson's words. See 'Biblical Researches,' vol. ii. p. 245.—*J. H.*

[13] Robinson, 'Biblical Researches,' vol. ii. p. 235, edit. 2, gives this account.—*J. H.*

[14] Robinson, 'Biblical Researches,' vol. ii. p. 235, note 2, says, "Ramleh and Lydda being so near, have been sometimes confounded."

[15] See an engraving of the ruins of this church in Thomson's 'The Land and the Book,' vol. ii. p. 292, Lond., 1859.

[16] To those who may consider that the date A.D. 346, which I have

λείψανον mentioned in the inscription, which the Prior *Ioannes* placed in his church at *Zorava*, or Ezra, there is nothing to determine.

A similar account is given by Dr. Mant, in his 'Book of Common Prayer,' and which must doubtless be considered as accurate as he could render it. To April 23rd, *St. George's Day* (p. xliii.), formerly held as a *festival*, the Bishop states "how he came to be so much esteemed of in England;" and as it is only alluded to by Mr. Porter, I here subjoin the passage:—"When Robert, Duke of Normandy, son to William the Conqueror, was prosecuting his victories against the Turks, and laying siege to the famous city of Antioch, which was like to be relieved by a mighty army of the Saracens, St. George appeared with an innumerable army coming down from the hills, all in white, with a red cross in his banner, to reinforce the Christians, which occasioned the infidel army to fly, and the Christians to possess themselves of the town. This story made St. George extraordinarily famous in those times, and to be esteemed a patron, not only of the English, but of Christianity itself;—not but that St. George was a considerable Saint before this, having had a church dedicated to him by *Justinian* the Emperor."

This heathen temple at Ezra, which was converted into a church by the said Ioannes, and dedicated to

assigned to that inscription, is too early for the placing of any relics in churches, I will merely observe that St. Augustine, who flourished about A.D. 390, mentions some wonderful cures which were made in churches that contained some relics of the martyr Stephen,—"*reliquias* martyris gloriosissimi *Stephani*." Vide 'De Civitate Dei,' lib. 22, cap. 8, sect. xi., S. Augustini Op., vol. iv., edit. Caillau, Paris, 1842.

St. George, is extremely interesting, as having been one of the earliest that had been dedicated to that Saint, and in fact nearly two centuries anterior to that which was raised to him by Justinian.

According to the Rev. Mr. Porter, this handsome church is still nearly perfect. The interior is a rotunda, with a large dome supported on massive piers,[17] having in front a paved courtyard, raised about twelve feet from the ground, and surrounded by a wall. The west entrance is by a very low stone door, evidently taken from some more ancient structure; over it, on a tablet, is "the long Greek inscription" before given.

And another ancient church of St. George, which was much frequented by the early Christians of the Haurân, is described by Burckhardt (Syria, p. 95) at a place called *Zahouet* (or *Sehwet*) *El Khouder*, to the south of *Kuleib*, the Haurân Peak. On the door is a Greek inscription beginning ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΕ, "O Holy George!" No date however has as yet been discovered from which that of the church can be ascertained.

St. George was often styled *ταξιάρχης* and *τροπαιοφόρος* by his devoted Greek Christians, but in this inscription his epithet is *καλλίνικος*, signifying much the same as the last; and as this inscription makes the Saint appear to the Prior Ioannes *οὐ καθ' ὕπνον, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς*, so he is said to have appeared again more than once *in person*, in after-times, to the Crusaders during the Holy Wars.

"About a mile from the town of Beyrout," says

[17] The true form of this edifice is that which is not unfrequently seen in the earlier Greek churches, viz. on the outside a square, but withinside a Greek cross with a rotunda or dome in the centre.

Mr. Porter ('Handbook,' p. 406), "we are shown the remains of an old brick building, which has, somehow or other, been linked to the legend of *St. George and the Dragon*,[18] in which every loyal Englishman will feel a home interest. Some affirm the Dragon was slain on this spot; but others affirm that the combat took place on the neighbouring beach, and the victorious Saint came here to wash his hands." The bay there is called the Bay of St. George.

It seems to me that the *origin* of this story is easily made out, for the gallant George, mounted on a fiery steed, and armed with the usual Arab spear, meets with a large and ferocious *seal* as he is riding along the sea-shore, and which he, after a good skirmish, despatches with his long weapon. The seal then, by the help of a little fable and some "collata membra," is stated to have been furnished with a fin-like crest and mane, huge wings, a fearfully forked tail, and scaly hide; and thus has been formed a dreadfully abnormal creature termed a *Dragon*. Had the scene been laid on the shore of a river, or the Nile, instead of the Mediterranean, a *crocodile* would evidently have given the legendary a more natural foundation for the working up of his winged monster.

I purposely omit any notice of Gibbon's "bilem atram," and splenetic attack on our Saint of Syria and England, as contained in his twenty-third chapter. I should however observe that his note 125, stating that St. George "had from the *sixth* century been revered in Palestine," is corrected by this inscription, which proves that he had been *revered* from a much

[18] See also Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' vol. ii. p. 492, ed. 2, note 3.—J. H.

earlier period, namely, from the *fourth* century, in that part of Syria.

The Emperor mentioned in the inscription No. 38 is *M. Aurelius Probus*, a man whom Eutropius (Hist. Rom. lib. ix. cap. 17) designates as "illustris gloriâ militari." And the sacred *cella* of the temple at *Um-e'-Zeitûn* was probably erected about the time in which the treaty was concluded by him with Persia, in A.D. 280, or perhaps after his march through Syria, when he was proceeding to put down the Blemmyes in *Africa*.

POSTSCRIPT.

As the Rev. C. Babington and the Rev. J. S. Wood, Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, have very kindly examined, with much care, the preceding pages whilst going through the press, I here add some corrections and different readings which they have made, and which the reader will find well worthy of his attention. My own observations on some of them are included in brackets.

1. In Mr. Graham's copy there are traces of a letter and space before **AIMOC**, in the third line. *Θαΐμος* occurs in Böckh, 4611 c, 4612, 4619. The last line may be parts of the word *οἰκοδόμησεν*.

2. *Ὄβεδος*, in line 1, perhaps=*Ὀβαΐδος* (Böckh, No. 4630) as *κὲ*=*καί*.

3. Line 3, *σύμπαντος οἴκου*. See Böckh, No. 4661. Line 4, *ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου* in Böckh, 4617. The word following seems to be a proper name in the genitive case, beginning with *Ἐπι*, and ending with *κου*, such

as *'Επιραύκου,'* 'of *Epiraucus.*' Line 5, *Γεμόλλου*, 'of *Gemollus*,' seems to be more likely.

4. The letters ΚΑΙΔΚ do not appear to belong to the inscription. The rest perhaps might run,

Φλ. Μάξιμος Σαβείνου β. φ.
Μενταρήσιος καὶ Κοινισού-
λανος καὶ (?) $\overset{\text{χ}}{\text{ρ}}$ *γενόμενος τῆς*
ἡγεμονίας τὸ μνῆμα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ᾠκο-
δόμησε σὺν Θεομάχῃ γυναικί.

Line 1, *β. φ.* may be $\overline{\beta}$. *φυλῆς*, as in Böckh, 4602 and 4603. Or *β.* may mean *βουλευτὴς* (Böckh, 4613, 4617, 4635). Line 2, *Μενταρήσιος καὶ Κοινισούλανος*, might be official terms, or perhaps more probably indicate two places to which he belonged as *βουλευτής*. At all events, it appears from the singular verb, and from the mention of his wife, that only one person's name is wanted. [In the original transcript the portion after *δόμησ*, and before *-εομά*, in the last line, being very imperfect, it is doubtful whether this proposed reading or mine is the true one.—*J. H.*] Line 3, for $\overset{\text{χ}}{\text{ρ}}$=*χιλίαρχος*. *Vide* Böckh, 4542, etc. [Also see Burckhardt's 'Syria.' This abbreviation is not uncommon for the Roman *Tribunus militum.*—*J. H.*]

5. Line 1, *ἐκτίσθη ἡ κρήνη*, or *κρηπίς*, may possibly have been in this line. [Perhaps *κρηνίς.*—*J. H.*] In line 5, *οἰκοδομησάντων*, not unlikely. The rest we can make nothing of. In lines 2, 3, and 4, there seem to have been proper names in the genitive, such as *'Οκτανίας, Λουκίας, καὶ Σονεοῦ, καὶ Μιλησίου.*

6. Line 1, if *σπουδῇ* be right, the comma had better be placed before *Μάρκου*. But we suspect *σπουδ.* represents a genitive (so that there be three pairs of proper names), such as *Σπουδίππου.*

7. Line 2, the last letter is doubtful. We fear *Κορνήλιος* cannot be got out of it. The four lines look most like (*ε*)*ὐχὴν Μάρκος, Ἰούλιος, Φαβανὸς* . . . [Most probable; except for *Μάρκος* I would suggest *Ἴλειος*. The last letter in line 2 may be an inverted E= ɯ.—*J. H.*]

8. There seems to be nothing certain in this, except the recurrence twice of *εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν* (lines 3, 5), and the words *ἐξ ἰδίων οἰκοδόμησεν* in line 4. Possibly contributions are mentioned, in which case line 4 may run *Μν.* $\overline{\rho\kappa\eta}$, or something of the kind=*x* minæ.

9. Perhaps (*M*)*άρκος Θεάμων καὶ Θέμος Ὀερόσδρων οἰκοδόμοι.* Two outlandish names, as builders: *Ὀερόσδρων* or *Θερόσδρων*, or something of the kind. *Οέμος* may be *Θαῖμος*. See No. 1.

10. *Ἰδίαις* is not distinct, and there is nothing to lead to the true reading.

11. Line 2, *λην* apparently does not join immediately to *Κυριλ* in the first line. It might be

Σόμνα τῇ κυρίᾳ
(*στη*)*λην*,

or the third word may be *Γυρία*, but all is uncertain.

12. In lines 3 and 6 N=Λ|. Comp. Burckhardt, p. 62. Line 7, Burckhardt has got plainly *καὶ σὺ τὰ* with *διπλᾶ* in the next line.

13. In line 2, the beginning may be *πρωτοσπουδικήριος*,[19] or *προδεσποτοκήριος*. Burckhardt's copy has *προτέπουδη*. The word may be some title of office, formed, though in a mongrel way, like *πριμμικήριος*. [Whichever word be fixed upon, I think the *Prior*, or *Head* of a Convent, is only intended.—*J. H.*] In the rest of

[19] There may here be *πρωτε*(*ύων*) *σπουδῆ* . . . Compare the next Inscription, line 2.

the line Burckhardt and Graham have in common . . . ΕΙ . . . ΘΩΝΑΝΑ . . . differing very widely in the remainder. Possibly ΘΩΝ may indicate a genitive plural dependent upon the preceding word. Line 3, *Προφήτου Ἠλία*: is *α* here used as a genitive? Graham gives apparently *ἀγγέλοις ἐνουρανίοις*, whilst Burckhardt has *ἐν οὐρανοῖς*. But the whole we consider very doubtful.

14. Perhaps we might read the five lines thus,

Οἱ ἅγιοι+ἱερ(εῖς) ἐξ ἰδίων ναὸν
Ἠλίου προφ. σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου
Ἰενέου διακ. ἐν ἔτει υζ
ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ Οὐάρου Θεο
φ.+ἐπισκόπου . . .

Line 1, as the verb in line 4 (if correctly copied) appears to be plural, and if so, it requires something different from *Οὐλπόζωρ*.[20] What we have suggested scarcely differs from the transcript, if Z, which occurs again in line 5, may be taken as a mark only, or perhaps a cross. See No. 13, line 1. [That mark is clearly different, and I cannot agree with this supposition.—*J. H.*] Line 2, Burckhardt has ΗΛΙΒ ΠΡΟΦ. He has also ΙωΑ . . . Β ΜΕ . . . Β. The second name may be doubtful. Line 5. We are convinced the word after *ἐπισκόπου* has nothing to do with his see.[21] Line 6. If ΟΘC be correctly

[20] I do not like the three first words here proposed. The editor of Böckh's new Part, just arrived, suggests the commencement from Burckhardt's copy, thus, Οἱ *ἀπὸ* Ζόρ. See No. 8628. These, Mr. Wood says, are most probably Οἱ *ἀπὸ Ζοραούας*. The last word is however too long. I should prefer (Z)ΟΡΑΟΥΗΝΟΙ.—*J. H.*

[21] This is certainly erroneous, for in Böckh's new Part, just published, Mr. Wood writes that in No. 8628, which is=14 of Mr. Graham's, taken from Burckhardt, the editor suggests (*ἡμῶν*) after *ἐπισκόπου*. As the inscription is at Zorava itself, 'our bishop' is synonymous with the 'Bishop of Zorava,' as I have proposed.—*J. H.*

explained as ὁ Θεὸς, what precedes is probably ᾧ, followed by some verb, expressing to avert, *πότμον Βόμβωνος*.

16. Line 4, τὸ is no doubt the article. With regard to the verb, it is doubtful whether we ought to consider one or other of the letters Ε or Α as inserted by a blunder, or Ε as representing a duplication of C,—ἔκτισεν, or ἔκτισαν, or ἔκτισσαν. The plural is perhaps the most probable.

17. The letters in the transcript are quite plain, *Φλαῖος Ὡσίβεο(s)*. See Porter's 'Damascus,' vol. ii. p. 56. [The inscription here referred to is the same as my No. 8 of Porter's Inscriptions (Roy. Soc. Lit. Trans., vol. v. p. 257), in which the words mistaken for Ε. or Φ. ΟCΗΒΕΟC are not *Ph. Osebeus*, but parts of ΚΕΟC ΕΒΙΩCΕ, *Κεὸς ἐβίωσε*, 'Ceus passed his life.'—*J.H.*]

18 seems altogether unintelligible.

19. Compare *Φλαις* with *Φλαῖος* in No. 17. Possibly C should be O, and C be added, which would give *Φλαῖος*.

20. The last of the numerals is clearly ζ (not *s*), the second ΠΙ: but the last word in the second line seems hopeless.

22. Line 1, the first word may be *θεῷ*, as a dedication to some god. Line 3, *Κλαυδιανὸς* is probably correct; but whether the intervening words are nominatives or datives seems doubtful. The second line can hardly have been *Παρούολος*?

23. Line 1, possibly . . . *μὴ δόλῳ ἤ πονη*
ρίᾳ σμηρίζειν . . .

The 13th letter in line 2 looks rather more like Ω in the transcript. But all is very uncertain.

24. (*Ἀγ*)*ριππᾶς* . . . . *καταστα*θεὶς. The Ζ is here doubtful, the copy being confused. For *Μαῖος*, see

No. 29, and Böckh, 4539. Herod Agrippa I. is called *Φιλόκαισαρ* on coins. See Akerman's Num. Illustr. of the New Test., p. 38. He is the person perhaps here meant. Line 2, ΜΑΙΟΣ may possibly be a fragment of *χιλίαρχος* (. . . ΛΙΑΡ(Χ)ΟΣ) . . . *Χιλ.* λεγ. occurs continually. [If the beginnings of the first two lines be broken, then this latter restoration is most likely the true one. But Mr. Graham, in his MS. copy, has not so stated. If so, this is one of the *most ancient* of his inscriptions.—*J. H.*]

27. The inscription may perhaps be read thus,

Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καισολίκου Μάλχου ἐθνάρ
χου στρατηγοῦ Νομαδῶν τὸ μνημεῖον ἐ
γὼ Ναβαδδὸς ἀδελφός. Ἐτῶν κη.

In line 1 *Μάλκου* looks as if it represented the town or place where it was found; the third word may be *καθολικοῦ*, the title of an officer at Court. See Steph. Thes. (ed. *Valpy*), *s. v. καθολικός*.

28. *ἐξορδεναρίως* ought probably to be regarded as an adverb, *Ἐξορδ.* being abbreviated for *ἐξτραορδ.* Cf. Ducange, *s. v. Ὄρδινον*.

29 is doubtful, but looks most like

(Ο)ὐλπία Ταγηρ
ινῆ Μαίου ὁ
ι Μαίου. Ἐτῶ
ν. μθ.

"To Ulpia Tagerina, (daughter) of Mæus, the (sons) of Mæus. Aged 49."

30. The name of the person may be imperfect; but it seems to be followed by a genitive *Αἴμου*, or *Θαίμου*. See No. 1. Perhaps *Σαιθὸς Αἴμου οἰκοδομος εὐ(τυχῶς)*.

31. The proper name may also be *Αὖθος* as well as *Ἄνθος*.

33. Line 2 seems uncertain; it may perhaps
ARM:PART:MEDIC. *Vide* Eckhel, Doct. Num. vii.
52.

35. Possibly *'Οδαίναθος Σαυρο(μάτου). 'Ετ(ῶν)* $\overline{\text{ϛλ}}$
aged 36.

36. We may perhaps read,—
ὁ θεὸς δικάσ(ει) τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας (τοὺς) ἀν(εψι)οὺς τῆς 'Η .
ϟE is probably the termination of *(ᾠκοδόμη)σε.* Th
a new sentence implying an imprecation.

38. The phrase *τὴν ἱερὰν καλύβην* occurs in Böck
4591, which was found at the same place as this.

40. Line 10, Burckhardt has *καλλινίκου*, and not *κα*
λίντου, as given in Mr. Graham's transcript.

This is published in Böckh, No. 8627, in the n
Part which has just arrived.

[I have examined this day, June 2nd, 1859, the n
Fasciculus (second) of Böckh's Corpus Inscript. Gra
vol. iv. (Berlin, 1859), which is edited by Kirc
hoff, and find that in No. 8627 he thinks it probal
that the date 410 refers to the Bostræan Era=A
514; and that the year 9 would perhaps be 49
which was the ninth of the Emperor Anastasius. B
I cannot agree with him, for, as I have before (at
38) shown, that by the Bostræan Era, 410=A.D. 5
=the year 23 of the Emperor Anastasius; and that t
dates "in the year of 9 of the year 410," do *not sy*
chronize; whereas, by the Pompeian Era, which I ta
to be the true one here intended, these two dates
coincide, *i. e.* the year 9 of the Emperors Constans a
Constantius = A.D. 346, and the year 410 = also A.
346.

The towns near Bostra doubtless often used t
Bostræan Era after its commencement in A.D. 104, b

Zorava, or Ezra, which is at a great distance to the north, is more likely to have computed by the Pompeian Era, and this is clearly proved by the *synchronism* of the dates in the inscription, of the accuracy of which there has been no doubt. I here give the extract from Böckh, p. 295, vol. iv. fasc. 2:—

"Numerum 410, nisi sua ac propria æra usa est Adrenorum civitas, ad *Bostrenorum* epocham exigendum esse *probabile* est. Itaque *dedicatio* facta esse statuenda erit anno *p. Chr.* 514. Annum autem nonum, quo S. Georgium suis sibi oculis videre visus est Ioannes primas, *imperatoris* fuisse conjicias. Quæ si vera est conjectura, annus significatur *p. Chr.* 499, qui fuit *nonus Anastasii* tunc *imperatoris*." I may moreover add that I think the year 9 of Constans and Constantius, is a much more likely time for the converting of heathen temples into Christian churches in that part of the Holy Land, than the year A.D. 514—above one hundred and fifty years later—in the reign of Anastasius.—*J. H.*]

IX.—ON THE HISTORY OF ICELAND, AND THE ICELANDIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOREIGN SECRETARY, R.S.L.

(Read May 25th, and June 8th, 1858.)

THE large volcanic land lying on the confines of Europe, in the extreme north-west, partly within the Arctic circle, and surrounded by the deep waters of the Atlantic Ocean, is only known to us by the inhospitable name of *Iceland*,—which is the *same* in the language of the country, viz. *Island*. Its soil is as inhospitable in its nature as this appellation would lead us to suppose. There, indeed, in many portions of it at least—

"Terram hirsuta premit glacies, et bruma perennis."

But by an apparent physical anomaly, *ice* and *fire* both prevail to a great extent, and the island may be designated very appropriately, either a "*Tierra del Yelo*," or a "*Tierra del Fuego*;" or, in fact, under both terms. Snow and ice, fire and water, especially boiling water, actually abound; and the latter, seeking to be cooled even in that cold region, rushes bubbling up, from the subterranean fires, to a great altitude into the freezing atmosphere, and produces the well-known and surprising natural phenomena of the *geysers*, and the mud volcanos.

The like inhospitable title of the Roman "Ultima Thule," has by some been assigned to this isle, though, I think, without any reasonable foundation. If it be correct, as Solinus says, that Thule was five days' sail from the Orkneys,[1] one of the Feroe Isles will better correspond with this distance.

The words of Solinus are these:—"Ab Orchadibus Thylen usque, v dierum et noctium navigatio est.

[1] With Solinus a 'day's voyage' is somewhat indefinite. He accounts the distance from the Hebrides (*Hebudes*) to the Orkneys, to be *seven* days and *seven* nights, *i.e.*, if he reckon from the extreme south end of the former, to the northernmost point of the latter islands, he may perhaps, with a heavy Roman vessel, be not far wrong. Also, if we compare, by the same scale, on a large map of Europe, the distance from the north of the Orkneys to the centre of the Feroe Isles we shall find a voyage of *five* days and *five* nights to be proportionably correct, or nearly so. Consequently, the Thule of Solinus agrees best with one of the Feroes; but by a comparison, on the same scale, of the distance from the north point of the Orkneys to the south-east bay in Iceland, we shall perceive that it would require, for a like Roman ship, a voyage of about *twelve* days and *twelve* nights. Therefore Iceland *cannot* be the Thule of Solinus. With this I will compare the following modern voyages:—First: Sir George M'Kenzie, in August 19, 1810, departed from Reikjavik in a sailing-vessel, and after a "voyage of fourteen days" landed at Stromness, in the Isle of Pomona, Orkney. Second: Madame Pfeiffer's voyage, in July, 1845, in a merchant sailing-sloop, occupied fifteen days from Reikjavik to the Cattegat. Third: Mr. Dawson, in 1853, left, in his sailing yacht, on June 15th, the Isle Innistrahull off the north-east coast of Donegal, and on June 22nd he sighted Iceland; the time here is eight days. Leaving Iceland in the same vessel on July 16th, he anchored on the 23rd in Stornaway Harbour, on the east side of Lewis, the northernmost of the Hebrides= seven days; this he calls a "rapid voyage." Fourth: Mr. Robert Chambers, in July, 1855, made, in a war-steamer, the voyage from Reikjavik to the Feroes in three days. Fifth: Lord Dufferin left Stornaway, June 13th, 1856, and arrived off Iceland, June 20th= eight days, in his quick-sailing schooner-yacht. And sixth: Mr.

Sed Thyle larga est, et diutina, pomorum [2] copiosa. Qui illic habitant, principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, et lacte in hyeme compergunt arborum fructibus."[3] And from these it can readily be shown that Iceland *cannot* possibly answer to Thule.

Recent discoveries in physical geography have proved that the climate of Iceland in summer (July) is very much colder than that of Norway and Sweden, and that it nearly corresponds with the temperature of the extreme north of Lapland during the same period. But that its winter climate, or the temperature of the month of January, approximates more closely to the cold, which usually occurs at that time, in the south-west of Norway. Consequently the line of perpetual snow in Iceland is accounted to be at an elevation of little more than 3,060 English feet, whereas on the same parallel in Norway that line is given at about 800 feet higher. As the heat of the sun in summer principally affects the height of the snowline, this in the latter country produced by the power and con-

J. W. Bushby, in 1857, sailed on June 7th from Thurso, in the north of Caithness-shire, and arrived early on June 12th, at Reikjavik = five days, but this vessel was a screw steamer. Also it appears that the sailing government mail-ships take nineteen or twenty days in their transits between the capitals of Denmark and Iceland.

[2] From the reading here given in some editions of Solinus,—"diutina, pomona,"—Camden seems to have incorrectly considered that those words related to Pomona, the chief of the Orkneys; for, in describing those isles, he writes ('Britannia,' p. 743, edit. Lond. 1590):—"Ex his Pomona, episcopali cathedrâ celebris, primaria est; à Solino 'Pomona diutina' ob diei prolixitatem vocata." And Bishop Gibson (vol. ii. p. 1469, edit. 2) has continued the same error in his translated edition of the 'Britannia.'

[3] Julii Solini 'De Situ et Memorabilibus Orbis,' cap. 35: edit. Ven. 1473.

tinuance of the sunshine, during nearly all the twenty-four hours, is very considerable. Accordingly, we find in the parallel of about 63° in Norway, or at its ancient capital Trontheim (or Drontheim),—formerly called Nidaros,—that Nature produces plenty of common fruits, for the late Dr. E. D. Clarke says, "We did not leave it before October 3rd, and the inhabitants had then ripe cherries, apples, plums, and pears hanging upon their trees."[4] Such too would doubtless be the case in the more southern parallel of the Feroe Isles, where the climate in summer approaches nearer to that of Trontheim, than to that of any portion of Iceland. In fact, the expressions used by Solinus in the preceding passage, as Thyle "pomorum copiosa," according to some editions; or "pomona copiosa est," according to others;[5] and as "qui illic habitant, . . . in hyeme compergunt arborum fructibus;" or as other editions present, "In hyemem conferunt arborum fructus,"[6] can in *no* manner be applied to Iceland, where from its colder summers *no* apples are produced or ripened; and there is *no* "storing up for the winter the fruits or produce of the trees," since *no* fruit-bearing trees exist in that island.

On the other hand, Camden writes, "At si verum sit quod doctissimus Gaspar Peucerus, libro de 'Terræ Dimensione' retulit, Schetlandiam nautis Thilensell

[4] 'Travels in Scandinavia,' by E. D. Clarke (vol. x. p. 229, 8vo edition: Lond. 1824). Refer to p. 249; and note (2), where that traveller corrects the distinguished Von Buch on this subject. See also p. 263, where the same is repeated.

[5] *Vide* Julii Solini Polyhistor. cap. 22, edit. Biponti. 1794.

[6] The Bipont edition, last referred to, has,—"In hiemem compercunt arborum fructus."

vocari (nec ejus fidem imminuere ausim), sanè Thule inventa, et res jam tandem confecta."[7] Thilensel, I may remark, in the Teutonic idioms, signifies *Thile Island*, or Thule-isle. And Tacitus, who is perhaps more to be depended upon in Northern geography than Solinus, says (in Vit. Agr. cap. 10), in the circumnavigation of Britain the Orkneys were discovered, and from thence 'Thule was visible,'—"dispecta est et Thule." Consequently, Mainland, the principal of the Shetland Islands, which is very mountainous would most probably be the land there discernible: for the basaltic Feroe Isles, though lofty and rocky, would be too distant to be seen from the Orkneys.

Little doubt, however, can exist that one of the Shetland Islands, or very likely one of the Feroe Isles must naturally be intended for the "Ultima Thule" of the Romans,[8] and *not* Iceland; because, in all probability, if that conquering people had ever reached or known of this island, which is so nearly adjoining to Greenland, they would not have been ignorant of the existence of that part of the New Western World, and they would doubtless then have extended their conquests and explorations into the American continent. As this was *not* the case, and as *no* Roman remains have ever been discovered in Iceland, it seems to me decisive that this "land of ice" was *not* the

[7] 'Britannia,' authore Guilielmo Camdeno, p. 746, edit. 3, Lond. 1590.

[8] In order to reconcile the different accounts of Tacitus and Solinus, it appears likely that the Thule of the former is to be identified with Mainland, or *one* of the Shetland Isles; but the Thule of Solinus corresponds much better with one of the Feroes. Also the Θούλη of Ptolemy evidently agrees with that of Tacitus.

"last Thule," designated by Roman authors as the northernmost extremity of the ancient world.

Moreover, as the chief portion, if not the entirety,[9] of Iceland, is *volcanic*, it may not have been in existence at that early period; but it may, like the ancient island of Thera (*Santorin*), or the very recent islet, lately called 'Graham Island,'[10] in the Mediterranean, have suddenly sprung up, through volcanic agency, out of the depths of the ocean,—and this may have occurred subsequently to the fall of the Roman Empire. Such really was the late origin of the two new islets that arose from the Atlantic Sea, not far from Iceland, after the dreadful volcanic eruption that took place in the year 1783; and like 'Graham Island,' both of these islets have since disappeared.

History does not inform us *when* Iceland was *first* discovered, for nothing certain is recorded of it until the ninth century after the Christian era. But some have thought that the English and Irish knew of this country under another name, previous to the arrival of the Norwegians, since the Venerable Bede, who flourished about the beginning of the eighth century, is said to describe the island pretty accurately. And the late Sir John Barrow, in his interesting 'History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions' (p. 4), thus writes:—"It is mentioned as a fact in the Iceland

[9] Professor Daubeny, in his work on 'Volcanoes' (2nd edit. p. 302) says, "Whilst of Sicily not a tenth of the surface is volcanic, the whole of Iceland is derived from igneous operations, either of an early or of a recent date."

[10] On "Graham Island," and views of it as seen in August and September, 1831, see 'Philosophical Transactions,' part 2, 1832; also the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. i. (1831) p. 258.

Annals, whose authenticity has rarely been called in question, that these early Norwegian colonists were fully persuaded that the island had been inhabited *before* their coming there; as wooden crosses, bells, and even books, were found near the shore, such as were then in use in Britain and Ireland. The distance is so short from Ireland, that it is not improbable that some of its fishermen might have been driven thither, and left behind them those relics of Christianity,[11] or, as Forster supposes, some of the Norman pirates" (or rather, Northmen) " with their booty, after plundering Ireland, may have directed their course westward, and left there these articles of their booty." [12]

And indeed, it has been further asserted by some authors, that the Irish monk Dicuil says, in his 'Liber de Mensurâ Orbis Terræ'[13]—a work but little known in England,—that Iceland was originally discovered by some Irish sailors. This, however, seems to be erroneous. For on referring to the book itself, it appeared to me that Dicuil, who wrote about 825 in our era, was merely describing from the information of others, in fact, from certain 'clerici,' or monks, not the island of Iceland by that very name,—as Terra Glacialis, or Gelata Terra,—but " Thule Ultima."

This Thule, or *Thyle*, his learned editor, M. Letronne, considers to be no other than Iceland; and he ventures an opinion that the Irish knew of it *before* its discovery by the Scandinavians;[14] and after an

[11] Mallet's 'Northern Antiquities.'

[12] Forster's 'Northern Voyages.'

[13] *Vide* edit. Letronne, Paris, 1814, cap. vii. s. 2. p. 139.

[14] " Recherches Géographiques et Critiques sur le livre 'De Mensurâ Orbis Terræ,' par Dicuil," pp. 131–9 : Paris, 1814.

examination of the question, I am by no means inclined to dissent from him. The following is Dicuil's account; which, being both curious and interesting, I here insert.

"Trigesimus nunc annus[15] est à quo nuntiaverunt mihi *clerici*, qui, à Kalendis Februarii usque Kalendas Augusti, in illâ insulâ mansuerunt, quod, non solum in æstivo solstitio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertinâ horâ, occidens sol abscondit se quasi trans parvulum tumulum; ita ut, nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat; sed quicquid homo operari voluerit, vel pediculos de camisiâ abstrahere, tanquam in præsentiâ solis potest; et, si in altitudine montium ejus fuissent, forsitan nunquam sol absconderetur ab illis. In medio illius minimi temporis, medium noctis fit in medio orbis terræ; et sic puto, è contrario in hiemali solstitio, et in paucis diebus circa illud, auroram in minimo spatio in Thule apparere quando in medio meridies fit orbis terræ. Idcircò mentientes falluntur, qui circùm eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui à vernali æquinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte, atque ab autumnali, versâ vice, usque ad vernale æquinoctium, assiduam quidem noctem, dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant, ac manentes in ipsâ, dies noctesque semper, præter solstitii tempus, alternatim habebant, sed navigatione *unius* diei ex illâ ad boream, *congelatum mare* invenerunt."

I must, however, remark that the 'Frozen Ocean' is much more distant from Iceland than a *single* day's voyage; but probably the author here meant only that the sea, after a day's sail to the north of the

[15] Dicuil, cap. vii. s. 2. No. 6. Supposing Dicuil to have written in 825, the year here alluded to would be A.D. 796.

island within the Arctic circle, was, at the time of the visit of those *clerici*, covered with many floes, packs, and much drift-ice.[16]

The 'Landnámabok,'[17] and other Icelandic chronicles, begin with the landing of the Norwegians; and they relate the following narrative. A *vikingr*, or sea-rover, or pirate, of the name of Naddodr, was driven by storms upon the shore of Iceland[18] in A.D. 861. From the vast quantity of snow which he saw there, he called the place *Sniarland*, 'snow-land.' On his return home he praised it so highly that a Swede, Gardar Suaffharson, went in search of it. Having sailed round the island, he found it uninhabited, and called it *Gardarsholmr*, *i.e.* 'Gardar's Island.' Afterwards Floke and Thorulf went on an expedition thither, and reported differently on the country; they assigned to it the appellation of Island—'Iceland,—which it has since retained. Then two Norwegians, Ingolf and Leif, or Hiorleif, sailed in 874, and afterwards settled there.

The tyranny of Harald Hârfagr, or 'Harold the Fair-haired,' king of Norway, caused many to leave their native kingdom, and to retire to Iceland; whilst

[16] See, as to "floating icebergs," *infra*, p. 21.

[17] The book of chronicles, called *Landnámabok*, *i.e.* 'Land-name-book,' meaning the colonization or occupation of the land book, was begun by Are Thorgilsson, surnamed *Hinn Frode*, or 'the learned,' at the end of the eleventh century. It was afterwards continued by other writers, particularly in the thirteenth century. It contains some 3000 names of settlers, and near half that number of the names of places.

[18] Some assert an earlier discovery of Iceland by the followers of the Danish prince Gautrak, about half a century before Naddodr's voyage; but this appears to me very doubtful.

others, under *Rolf Gænger*, or *Gængu Rolf*, 'going or walking Ralph,' better known as Rollo (a descendant of whom was William the Bastard, or the Conqueror), proceeded to, and subdued, Normandy. Other settlers—*landnámamenn*—beside Norwegians, arrived in that isle, and conflicts between their petty chieftains became frequent.

Iceland, about half a century after its colonization, selected the Republican form of government, when the rest of northern Europe was under a monarchical dominion. At the commencement of the tenth century, the head or father of every family was a petty sovereign or chieftain; and as the population increased and improvements took place, it became requisite to determine the many disputes concerning the boundaries of lands, and to select a proper code of laws. To effectuate these, the heads of the families met, and entrusted to a man of much judgment, named Ulfliot, the power of drawing up the outlines of a constitution. In 928, at a general meeting of the people, Ulfliot brought before them a scheme for the constitution and government of the island. This was approved of; and a republic comprising some elements of an aristocracy was chosen, and soon established. The entire isle was separated into four chief divisions, named *Fiordungr*, and every chief division was again subdivided in three districts, or *sysslu*. Each syssel had its communities, or *Hreppar*, which by some are considered as 'parishes.' An annual meeting, under the title of *Varthing*, was held in every syssel, in the open air, in the early part of summer, and to which all the freemen came. It was presided over by three *godi*, or principal hereditary chieftains, who acted as

judges, and each summoned twelve *domsmenn*. A general national assembly, or *Allthing*, meaning 'Parliament' (from *all* and *thinga*, to confer, or consider), met also annually at Thingvalla,[19] in the open air, over which the chief named *Lægsægumadr*, or 'Law-proclaimer,' presided. The place of the *Thing* was called *Thingstead*. Plaintiffs might bring their causes before the Varthing, or the Allthing, according to their own choice. The form of trial, however, was the same at both assemblies.

At the commencement of the eleventh century another district meeting, termed *Leidarthing*, was instituted, in which the three godi of each syssel, a fortnight after the sitting of the Allthing, proclaimed the laws which were altered or newly enacted at that national assembly, and other alterations made in the government of the island. Commerce quickly increased, and a trade sprung up with different parts of the world, particularly with the East. In order to improve their own laws, which they had introduced from the mother-country, deputies were sent to Constantinople, or, as they named it, *Mikligardr*, at that time greatly celebrated for its civilization and letters. These events occurred in the tenth century. In this improvement of the ancient laws of Iceland, certain traces of the Grecian and Roman laws are apparent, and thus the superiority of the Icelandic codes over those of Norway and Denmark is accounted for. And in addition to the first code of written laws, called *Gragas*,[20] which was drawn up in A. D. 1118, the

[19] The *Allthing* has been for the last half century held at Reikjavik.

[20] Herr F. W. Schlegel published the *Gragas* in 1829, at Copen-

second code, *Jonsbok*, was made in 1280. The maritime and merchant code, called the *Bjarkeij* law, was the ancient general law of the merchants of north-western Europe. With this, I believe, England is but little acquainted, though it is very probable that some of its customs may be traced in the Mercantile law of Scotland and the Scottish isles. Trial by jury is said to have been known in Iceland, and to have been occasionally, as in England, practised at a very early time. Indeed the *Eyrbyggia Saga* proves this.[21] Judge Blackstone (book iii. chap. 23) clearly says:—"In England we find actual mention of juries so early as the laws of King Ethelred, and that not as a new invention" (Wilk. LL. Ang.-Sax. 117). Stiernhook (De Jure Sue. et Goth. lib. i. cap. 4) ascribes the invention of the Jury, which in the Teutonic language is denominated *Nembda*,[22] to Regner, king of Sweden and Denmark, who was contemporary with our King Egbert," about A. D. 830. The same author also writes that the Nembda was introduced into England by the Danes and Northmen. It therefore appears likely to have been of Scandinavian origin, and much more ancient than the time of the Conqueror; the same northern people, or *Nordmenn*, most probably

hagen. The *Jonsbok* consisted chiefly of the old laws corrected in the time of Magnus, who succeeded to Hakon, king of Norway.

[21] See the edition published at Copenhagen, 1787, p. 45.

[22] It does not seem to me to be clear that the *Nembda* was altogether identical with our jury, or that that institution did not perform the duties both of judges and of jurors. If so, we in England, sometime after its introduction, possibly modified it into our constitutional form, first by making the twelve, *witnesses*, and subsequently by restricting them merely to find the *truth* of the *facts* as sworn to by *other* witnesses.

having imported it into Normandy when they took possession of that territory.

In fact, a careful examination of the early Icelandic laws would be an important study, for, according to Herr Petersen, they "show especially that among its people, in times preceding and reaching down to the Middle Ages, no such utter barbarism reigned (in Iceland) as has been too often imputed to those periods."

Capital punishment seems not to have been practised by the early laws as collected in the Gragas, except in the case of witchcraft. Those who had committed murder were sent to banishment in the forests or the more wild and uncultivated spots in the island. This was named *skoggangr*, *i. e.* 'forest-going.' No one was permitted to go near them within a certain fixed distance. Those who were thus outlawed or banished for inferior crimes, might have been supplied with food and other things by their relations. But if the banished persons were detected beyond their bounds, any one was at liberty to kill them; and any one might also destroy them within their banished districts, if they did not leave the country,—which might easily have been done by the frequent shipping—within twelve months from their sentence. The payment of a fine was likewise a common mode of expiating a crime. Each one's person was free; but this freedom was forfeited by certain crimes. If any provocation had been given, the party resenting it was allowed to go unpunished, although death should thereby have ensued. It was considered very creditable to slay a highwayman. From some of the laws contained in the Gragas, it appears that children were compelled

to support their aged parents, if they had sufficient means; but this was not enforced when they had not been properly educated by those parents. If they had not the means, the other nearest relations were bound to do so; but were there no relations, or none capable of supporting them, then the communities, or *hrepps*, bore the expenses of maintenance. Indeed, throughout the island, the general law was that the old and the poor were submitted to the care of their relations, who in return were to be allowed the wages of their labour, if capable of working at all; and were to be indemnified for their expenses, if the paupers should subsequently obtain any property.

The officers of the *hreppar* endeavoured to keep down the number of the poor; and they strictly retained them within their own *hrepps*. Relief in kind was allowed only to those paupers who were on their road to their respective *hrepps*. Beggars were not permitted, and vagabonds, *gangamenn*, or 'wandering men,' were subject to severe punishment. No person was allowed to marry until he could show that he possessed sufficient means to support a wife and children. Divorces were of frequent occurrence.

The republican government, nearly as founded by Ulfliot, lasted for about three and a half centuries, during the greater part of which the Icelanders were happy and peaceful; and they continued under wise laws to cultivate with great success not only literature, but also the doctrines of Christianity, which began to be received in 981.[23] Commerce likewise was much ex-

[23] The reception of Christianity by the Icelanders was fully confirmed, at the national assembly of the *Allthing*, in the year 1000. The description of their conversion to the new faith is given in the 'Kristni Saga,' Th. Rattr af Isleifi Biskupi. Havn. 1773.

tended, and voyages undertaken to other countries, particularly to the northern regions of America. Greenland was first seen towards the close of the ninth century, by an Icelander called Gunbiörn; but that name was not given to it until after 983, when the Norwegian Erik *Rauda*, or 'The Red,' landed upon it. Not very long ago, a stone was stated to have been found on the west coast of Danish Greenland, in Baffin's Bay, about lat. 73°, bearing a Runic inscription, in the Icelandic language, with the supposed date of 1135.[24] At the end of the tenth century Biörn, an Icelander, discovered accidentally, in the south-west, a finely wooded country. This in 1001 was visited by Leif, a son of Erik Rauda, who named it 'Markland,' from its quantity of *wood*, which is supposed to be a portion of Nova Scotia; and he discovered another rich district, which, from the abundance of the wild *vine*, he named 'Vinland,'[25] and now identified with New England. Six years afterwards, the Icelander Thorfinn sailed, with his wife and some settlers, to the latter new land; and remaining some four years, they became friendly with the natives. Bishop Erik undertook, in 1121, a voyage from the Icelandic settlement in Greenland to Vinland, on a Christian mission; and this shows a long acquaintance with that part of North America. Again, "in the account of the voyage of the Icelandic priests Adalbrand and Thorvald, in 1285, it deserves to be remarked that in the excellent parchment MS. of the 'Annales Regii,' which was written in 1307, it is not said that the priests discovered *a* new land (*nýtt land*), but expressly that they visited *the* new land,

[24] See 'Danish Antiquarian Annals,' vol. iv. part 2, 1826.

[25] *Vide* Thermodi Torfæi 'Hist. Vinlandiæ Antiquæ.' Hafn. 1705.

(*fundu nýja land*), which name (*Terra Nova*) therefore they have given *par excellence* to that one of the lands discovered in these waters by their forefathers which lay nearest to them in the south-west. That a knowledge of the other American countries, and of the names given them by the Northmen, has been preserved to a later period in Iceland, will be seen from a narrative of a voyage to *Markland* (Nova Scotia) in 1347, contained in the 'Annals of Skalholt.'[26] In the 'Annals of Holar' also, that land (Newfoundland) is expressly styled, *fannst nýja land*, not *nýtt land*, as well as in the narration in the 'Annals' which relates that the Norwegian king, Erik the Priest-hater, despatched Landa Rolf, in 1289–90, to find out this country."[27]

Schools were founded in Iceland about 1050 A.D., in which poetry became a chief branch of learning; and likewise the *Sagas*, or historic traditions of the nation, were much studied. After a time, this happy state of the people was disturbed by intestine conflicts, and to end them they gladly put themselves, in 1261–4, under the protection of Hakon, or Haco, the King of Norway,[28] but on the express condition that they should

[26] *Vide* 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' pp. 264–5. Havn. 1845.

[27] Report of the 'Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen,' for 1851, pp. 3, 4, where also it is stated that, as Columbus spent some part of the year 1477 in Iceland, some twenty years previously to his rediscovery of the American continent, it is with much reason supposed that he there heard of Greenland, and that portion of the New World, more to the south-west, which the Icelanders had long before discovered, had frequently communicated with, and at length deserted, and termed Markland, Vinland, etc.

[28] Although Iceland at this period was in a disturbed state, yet it does not appear that it ever suffered from the miseries of war, civil or foreign.

preserve their own laws, taxes, and customs. In the year 1380, Iceland, together with Norway and Sweden, became subject to Denmark; of which kingdom it has ever since formed a territory, and, under the rule of a Danish Viceroy, the inhabitants have continued to be fairly governed under mild laws. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic tenets yielded to the purer doctrines of the Episcopal Lutheran Church. And somewhat before this time, another light, the art of printing,[29] was established, under the care of Bishop Areson.

The modern goverment of Iceland under the regal power of Denmark, is as follows:—The Governor-General is the chief magistrate: he is appointed by the King, and, bearing the title of *Stifftamtman*, he resides at the capital, Reikjavik; where the present inhabitants, little more than 750 in number, are greatly mixed with Danes.

The chief criminal judge is named *Tatsröd*, and holds with two others, or assessors, a court at Reikjavik. The principal or land bailiff, is also an important officer. The whole island is separated into four divisions, or *Fiordnungs*, usually termed Ostland, Nordland, Vestland, and Sudland; these are governed by deputies, or *Amtmen*, who are subordinate to the *Stifftamtman*. The *Fiordnungs* are again divided into eighteen *Syslu*, or *Syssels*, the affairs of which are controlled by *Sysselmen*, who are also judges, or magistrates, and collectors of taxes and customs. Under

[29] The first printing-press was introduced in 1529, and another in 1772; but no press was permitted in Iceland without a license from the King of Denmark. Three newspapers are now printed in Icelandic.

these are certain officers of communities, or *Hreppar*, called *Hreppstiores*, and still inferior persons, named *Forlikunarmen*, who are a sort of constables.

The ancient laws of Iceland are still mostly used; but the law of primogeniture, and entailed estates, are not known. Land is held either in fee, or under long leases from the Crown; the rents for the latter being twofold, viz. an old ground-rent, and another for the total amount of the head of cattle which the quantity of land, or the farm, will sustain. In case of intestacy the land is sold or divided among the children, the sons taking twice as much as the daughters. Forests no longer exist in the interior; but they are said to have been once abundant, and to which criminals were banished; consequently those few who are now sentenced to banishment, are transported to Denmark. At this day, only a few dwarf birches and willows are seen, but no *trees*, the highest are mere shrubs rising from six to eight feet in height. The chief fuel is now turf or peat.

The lower classes suffer much from the severity of the climate, and from the want of more substantial dwellings, and of better fires. They are subject to rheumatic complaints, liver and pulmonary diseases, which are very fatal; and also to a horrible leprosy,[30] in consequence of their dirty habits and coarse food; this being mostly salt fish, milk, rancid butter, and a poor substitute for bread made of the Iceland lichen (*Cetraria Islandica*), and of which they make a sort

[30] "Leprosy is still common in most parts of Norway, and is rather on the increase: it is a very intractable and loathsome disease. In Bergen it has always been peculiarly virulent, which Pontoppidan ascribes to the oily fish-diet of the inhabitants."—Professor James

of gruel, or broth. Wheat and barley are dear, as there are no corn-crops raised in the island. The chief occupations of the inhabitants are, fishing, salting fish, looking after cows, raising herds of cattle and horses,[31] and flocks of sheep, and making hay—their only harvest—from the generally coarse, but poor, meadows; some of the latter, however, in the more favoured spots near the rivers, are comparatively rich. The population of Iceland is said once to have amounted to 100,000 souls; it has varied a good deal, owing to diseases and famines, which have alternately prevailed at times during the last century. At its commencement, from 1707–9, the small-pox carried off above 16,000 persons; about the middle of the same century a famine destroyed near 10,000 more. After the fearful volcanic eruption that occurred in 1783, above 9,000, according to some accounts, or about 11,000, according to others, deaths were numbered. About the year 1795, the total population was reckoned at 60,000. In 1801, it only amounted to 47,200; in 1819 it had increased to about 50,000; in 1834 to 56,000; and the whole persons are now stated not to exceed 64,700.

The Icelanders are by nature mild, of good dis-

D. Forbes's 'Norway and its Glaciers,' p. 110. For several plates of *leprous* men in Iceland, see 'Atlas du Voyage en Islande,' par M. de Gaimard. Paris, 1837.

[31] The breeding of the small horses, or ponies, is a matter of great care to the Icelanders, since it is mostly by these hardy and active animals that they can travel, and convey from place to place their different goods and merchandise. There are no carts or carriages. Pigs are scarce; poultry not abundant; garden-fruits none; vegetables very few, of the commonest sorts, and usually much stunted in their growth. Some reindeer, originally introduced from Norway about a century ago, are now nearly wild.

positions, honest, faithful, religious, and well educated; and indeed, considering the poverty of the country, much superior knowledge is to be found among them. The higher crimes are very rare, but petty stealing is not uncommon. Fining and flogging constitute the usual punishments. Parents, assisted by the parish priests, are the instruments of education, which may truly be said to be general, inasmuch as almost every one can read and write. The principal youth and clergy receive their early instruction at a sort of College, or High School, which used to be at Bessasted, in the peninsula of Alftaness, but is now removed to Reikjavik. The Danish Government supports it.

Nearly the entire country has become bare and unproductive; the lands having been greatly destroyed by frequent eruptions of the many volcanoes, and by streams of lava and volcanic sand. Sulphur abounds in many places. Icy mountains, called *Jökuls*, cover the interior of the island, from which there usually proceed immense glaciers; Öræfa Jökul, the highest mountain, is given in Olsen's map[32] at 1280 Danish feet higher than mount Hecla, the extreme altitude of the latter above the sea being estimated at 4961 Danish feet, or 5168 English feet. As with the *bifid* Parnassus of Grecian antiquity, one summit of which was sacred to Apollo and the second to Bacchus; so with the three-topped or *trifid* Hecla,[33] which,

. . . . triplici " petit æthera colle,"

[32] This Map was published at Copenhagen by the 'Islenzka Bókmentafelag,' or Icelandic Library Society, 1849. It was executed by O. N. Olsen, from the survey of Mr. Björn Gunnlaugsson, Professor of Mathematics at the College of Bessasted in Iceland.

[33] Mr. Robert Chambers, in his 'Tracings of Iceland,' says of the

ought properly to be dedicated to the three chief Scandinavian deities; the first of whose summits may be assigned to *Odin*, the second to *Frea* (Friga), and the third to *Thor*.[34] The central parts of Iceland are but little known, and from all accounts are not inhabited. In the 'King's Mirror,' (*Konungs Skuggia*,) published by the Society called the "Unseen," which is thought to have been composed in the thirteenth century, and relates to Iceland as it then existed, the anonymous writer describes the island thus:—"It is almost uninhabitable on account of the ice which covers so large a portion of its surface. Not only is its iron cold nearly intolerable, but it is visited by huge floating icebergs from the Greenland coast. It is tormented with subterranean fire, and fearful earthquakes." He calls it, "a dead fire that feeds upon stones and rocks which it converts into liquid lava, as if they were wax." He speaks of the "burning mountains which throw up their waters to the skies,[35] and turn whatever they moisten to stone.[36] The boiling gulfs, the volcanic craters, the eternal glaciers,"[37] abound.

Such was the picture of Iceland many centuries ago, and such it remains at this day, except that the

"celebrated mountain Hecla; we were now (July 1855) gratified with a sight of its *triple* and snow-covered summit."

[34] These three deities we still weekly recall to mind in the return of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday; for *Odinsdagr* or *Wodinsdagr*, *Thorsdagr*, and *Freydagr* were their original and old Norwegian names.

[35] The *Geysers*, or 'boiling fountains,' are mentioned in the poem called 'Völuspâ,' which is supposed to be about one thousand years old. See *infra*, p. 33 and note.

[36] Alluding, I conclude, to the vast deposit of silica, or siliceous sinter, by the boiling springs.

[37] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. p. 212.

volcanoes are now in repose; neither have any flames burst forth from the summit, nor has any stream of lava flowed down the side of Hecla,—

"Nec tulit in cœlum flammas, (nec) vertice prono
Ignis in (Heclæum) cecidit latus" (Pharsal. i. 546)

for many years past. But the well-known Geysers still continue active, and still spout high into the air jets of scalding water, and clouds of steam, after certain intervals, being usually preceded by loud thundering noises. These remarkable and beautiful phenomena are known to have existed in the time of the anonymous Icelandic writer whom we have just cited; and the celebrated Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus, more than six and a half centuries ago, has confirmed their appearance. Mentioning Iceland as the 'Ice Island,' "insula quæ glacialis dicitur," he speaks of a "fons fumigantis aquæ," and thus describes the other boiling fountains:—"Ibidemque complures alii latices referuntur; qui modo crescentis limphæ copiis adaucti plenisque exundantes alveis crebras in sublime guttas jaciunt, modo torpentibus scatebris vix ab imo conspecti profundis subductioris terræ latibulis absorbentur. Quo fit ut exuberantes proxima quæque spumarum candore conspergant, exinaniti nullo visus ingenio capiantur."[38]

This "fons fumigantis aquæ," and these "latices, qui modo crebras in sublime guttas jaciunt," et "modo terræ latibulis absorbentur," can signify no other intermittent jets than those peculiar Icelandic wonders, the Great Geyser and the smaller ones: and to which, I think, no other natural phenomena in Europe can afford any parallels, except the less beautiful and less

[38] Saxo Gram. in Prolog. Hist. Dan. fo. iii. edit. Par. 1514.

astonishing mud-volcanoes in Sicily. The Icelandic word *geyser* means strictly 'gusher,' for it comes from the verb *geysa*, 'to gush, or burst, out.' M. Robert says, "A Fahrenheit's thermometer, sunk to the depth of 30 feet in the pipe of the Great Geyser, rose to 219°." And Mr. Stanley found the thermometer constantly rose in those hot springs to the 212th degree[39]. Mr. Dawson sounded "down the Great Geyser pipe, and ran out eleven fathoms (or 66 feet). At that depth there would seem to be a bend in its direction, which prevents the lead from sinking lower."[40] And Mr. J. W. Bushby writes, "The temperature of the water in the Great Geyser was ascertained, with the use of proper apparatus, by a scientific Danish traveller, Herr J. C. Schythe," to be, "at a depth of 60 feet, 112° to 115°; and at 30 feet deep, 100°."[41] Mr. Bushby does not mention to what thermometer these degrees refer, but I think it clear that Celsius's must be the instrument intended, as that is in common use in Sweden and the North. I have then computed those degrees for Fahrenheit's scale, which are respectively 233° to 239,° and 212° (boiling-point). The results prove of course an *increase* of heat in proportion to a lower subterranean level, when the Geyser is quiescent, namely, from 21° to 27° in the increased depth of 30 feet. And I should further observe that the feet there stated are, no doubt, Danish feet, consequently 60 and 30 Danish respectively equal nearly 62½ and 31¼ English feet. And the 30 feet of M. Robert, being doubtless

[39] See two papers by Mr. Stanley in Trans. Royal Soc. of Edinburgh, vol. iii. pp. 127, 153.

[40] A Yacht Voyage to Iceland, in 1853, p. 65.

[41] Page 432, 'New Monthly' for April, 1858.

Parisian, since 30 Paris equal 32 English feet nearly, then his temperature of 219° at a depth of 32 English feet, will coincide, or nearly so, with that given by Herr Schythe. And Mr. R. Chambers states[42] that the water in that Geyser, at the bottom of the pipe, mediately before an eruption, has been found as high as 261° Fahrenheit. The above facts incontestably show that there still exist in the bowels of the island much volcanic matter, and vast subterranean heat or fire, which in all probability will again, in due season, burst forth with renewed vigour. But I do not consider it necessary to describe here any of the volcanic eruptions, the numerous streams of lava, and other igneous products of Iceland, because they differ but little from those which have occurred in the similar districts of Vesuvius, Stromboli, and Etna.

The *tongue* or *dialect* spoken by the Icelanders, is a variety of the great Germanic family of languages which belongs to the Indo-European class. This German or Teutonic family may be correctly divided (as several ethnologists have done) into—1. The true German or Teutonic branch, which comprises the *high* dialects of the German, as well as the *low* dialects (*Platt-Deutsch*), of which are the old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Frieslandish, etc., and into—

2. The Scandinavian branch, that comprehends the Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic, and the Swedish. Professor Jacob Grimm, in his 'Deutsche Grammatik,' classes the dialects of the Germanic language into four divisions; thus,—1, the Gothic; 2, the old High German; 3, the Low German; and 4, the Scandinavian Northern, or Norse. But Herr Rask esteems,

[42] Tracings of Iceland, p. 72.

and more correctly, I think, the German and the Scandinavian as two sister *languages*, rather than mere cognate *dialects*. Adelung briefly describes the Icelandic dialect (*mundart*) in these words,—" Bekannter ist die *Isländische* mundart, eine tochter der Norwegischen, weil sie von jeher mehr durch schriften ausgebildet worden. Da die Isländer von Norwegen ausgegangen sind, so brachten sie auch die Norwegische sprache mit, daher sie die ihrige noch jetzt Norränisch zu nennen pflegen. Da sie wahrscheinlich aus verschiedenen gegenden Norwegens kamen, so zerfiel auch ihre sprache gleich anfänglich in mehrere mundarten. Von Troil (in seinem 'Bref Rörende en Resa til Island,' Ups. 1777,) zählet vier hauptmundarten."[43] And which I have thus translated:—'The Icelandic dialect, a daughter of the Norwegian, is better known, since it was formed more by written compositions, from an earlier period. When the Icelanders migrated from Norway, they then brought over with them the Norwegian language; wherefore they were wont to denominate their own tongue, up to that time, Norrænish, or Norse. As they probably came from different districts of Norway, so likewise their language separated from the beginning into several dialects. Von Troil (in his 'Letters from Iceland,' Ups. 1777) reckons *four* principal dialects.'

This latter, or the Scandinavian division of the Germanic or Teutonic family, is characterized by the absence of aspirates and gutturals, thus giving it a less harsh sound and a softer pronunciation; and among other peculiarities of construction, the article, in Danish as well as in Swedish, is placed *after* its noun, in

[43] 'Mithridates,' vol. ii. p. 305.

lieu of preceding it. A mixed or corrupt Norwegian or Norse was long used by the inhabitants of the Orkneys.[44] And, according to Adelung, the natives of the east portion of Iceland speak an idiom greatly resembling the old Norwegian, whilst those along the coast use more of an admixture of Danish. His words are,—"In dem östlichen theile der insel soll die alte Norwegische sprache noch am reinsten gesprochen werden; an den küsten ist sie sehr mit dem Dänischen vermischt." Although the Swedes themselves sprang from an intermixture of Goths from Upper Germany with the Scandinavian tribes, their language does not present any great differences of dialect. The Gothic, or Teutonic, or Germanic tribes, in the early times of Christianity, settled themselves in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

[44] Much confusion has long prevailed with regard to a correct view of the old Norwegian or Norse, and some of the German or Teutonic dialects; for instance, Camden (Brit. p. 744) states, that the inhabitants of the Orkneys spoke Gothic,—"Orcades in Norwegorum potestatem et Danorum devenerunt, unde Gothicè loquuntur incolæ." And Bishop Gibson, in his second edit. of that author (vol. ii. p. 1468) observes,—"To this day many of the inhabitants of Orkney use the Norse, or old Gothic language, which is not much different from the old Teutonic, or the language which the Picts used." So Gibbon (chap. 55), writing of the new Varangians at Constantinople as being "a colony of English and Danes, who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror," says they used "the Danish or English tongue," intending, as I conclude, the original Danish (Norwegian) or Norse, and the Anglo-Saxon. In fact, both these languages were common in England during the Danish rule. But it is to be remembered that the Orkneys, originally parcels of the Norwegian kingdom, were mortgaged by Christian (of Oldenburg), King of Denmark, to James III. (of Scotland), in 1472, and that the old Norwegian tongue and Norwegian laws prevailed there for a further period of about a century and a half. See the Lord's Prayer in Orcadian, No. VI., p. 374.

M. Bergmann[45] considers that they were descended from the *same* original race, which emigrated from the countries adjoining upon the Caspian and Euxine seas and the lake Mæotis; and that they possessed the *same* manners, customs, and habits, made use of *one* identical language, and worshipped the *same* deities. This author well remarks, if we term the early Gothic people, who immigrated into and settled themselves in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the neighbouring islands, Scandinavians, so we ought strictly to give to the idiom or dialect which they used, the appellation of the "Scandinavian language."

The Danes, through several fortunate events, became the prevailing and chief nation in Scandinavia; and they were the originators of a monarchy in that northern region. But their country, Denmark or Danmark, in German *Dannemark*, in Icelandic *Danmörku*, bears a name of somewhat uncertain origin. One of their best historians, Saxo Grammaticus,[46] supposes it to be derived from *Dan*, a native of Zealand, their first monarch, and *marka*, which we translate 'marches,' a border, or district.[47]

[45] M. Bergmann's work, entitled, 'Poëmes Islandais, tirés de l'Edda de Sæmund,' was published at Paris in 1838. To his 'Memoir on the Poetry and Language of Iceland,' I am much indebted.

[46] Saxo, surnamed Grammaticus from his learning, the illustrious Dane, flourished at the close of the twelfth century. Gibbon (vol. i. chap. x. note 7) states this to have occurred "about the year 1200;" but, according to the best authority, he died in the year 1204. His 'History of Denmark,' extends from the first accounts of that country until A.D. 1186. He wrote in Latin; and his style is admirable, though by some accounted too poetical for his subject. He may be called the Poet of Northern History, but all his statements must not be taken as facts.

[47] Simeon Dunelmensis, in the twelfth century, writes *Danemarchia,*

This monarch (Dan) is stated to have reigned some centuries before the Christian era. This account, however, is only legendary, and taken, I presume, from the Icelandic Sagas. But Ptolemy (ii. 11. 33) says that the *Dauciones*[48] were a people inhabiting the south of Scandia, the Scandinavia of Pliny (iv. cap. 13), who are very likely to have been the ancestors of the *Daunes*, or Danes. And Jornandez, writing in the middle of the sixth century, mentions the *Dani* as a nation of Scanzia (*Scandinavia*), which he, as well as Ptolemy and Pliny, term an island, but strictly a peninsula. From this country the different tribes which stocked Norway and Sweden arrived; and Denmark is considered the mother-country of those colonies, and esteemed the fountain of the religion and laws of the Scandinavians, the first spring of their traditions and mythology, and the fatherland of their poetry and songs. And according to M. Bergmann, the superiority of the Danes in early times was the cause of the most ancient term bestowed on the dialect of Scandinavia having been *Dönsk tunga*, that is to say, the 'Danish tongue.'[49]

and Robert of Gloucester, in the thirteenth century, writes *Denemarch*, for Denmark. And the traveller E. D. Clarke observes, "The word *mark* is Swedish: it signifies land; as *angsmark*, which means, 'meadow-land.' It is also used to denote the ground; as, *ligga på marken*, signifying, 'to lie on the ground' (Travels, vol. ix. 8vo edit. p. 496). Hence, *Lapmark*, *Finmark*, *Danmark*, etc., mean the land of the Lapps, the Finns, the Danes, etc.

[48] Δανκίωνες seems the word in many editions, but Δανκίωνες, *Danciones*, is probably more correct.

[49] The language which anciently prevailed over the whole North was named at first, in Iceland as well as in the rest of the North, *Dönsk tunga*, 'Danish tongue' (Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, 1851, p. 7).

After the Danes became gradually more civilized, a difference of manners and customs also by degrees took place between them and the rest of their Scandinavian neighbours,—especially the Norwegians and Swedes. As the latter inhabited a territory placed by Nature to the north of Denmark, they were named Nordmenn, 'North-men.' This title chiefly referred to the Norwegians alone; for I may observe that Snorro,[50] with others, made a distinction between the Nordmenn and the other Scandinavians. Moreover, the Danes had more constant traffic and communication with the Norwegians than with the Swedes.

The Scandinavians of the north thus differed from those of the south, both in their customs and manners, and in their language. "The language of the Danes," observes M. Bergmann, "departed first from the ancient Scandinavian idiom. This idiom could then no longer be distinguished by the name of *Dönsk tunga*, 'Danish tongue;" it was termed *Norræna tunga*, or *Norrænt mál*, 'Northern language,' or 'Norse,' because in the countries of the North, in Norway, and Sweden, the ancient language, from which the Danish dialect had recently detached itself, had experienced hardly any perceptible change. But as the name of Nordmenn[51] was applied more especially to the Norwegians,

[50] Snorro Sturlason, or Snorre Sturleson, the Icelandic writer, was assassinated A.D 1241, aged 62. His chief work is, 'Heimskringla, seu Chronicon Regum Norwegorum;' and the 'Edda Islandorum,' the Prose, or 'Ingre Edda,' is by many assigned to him.

[51] Nordmenn, originally signified collectively the Scandinavian inhabitants of the North; but afterwards it was used exclusively for the Norwegians, the natives of Norway, Nordrlönd. So likewise, about the period of the thirteenth century, the name Norræna was used not exclusively for Norwegian but for Northern in general. Afterwards how-

so did *Norræna tunga* designate more particularly the Norwegian language." With the Norwegians indeed the ancient idiom continued the same for a long period, but with the Swedes it quickly began to assume modifications similar to those which the Danes had already effected in their own dialect.

Next, Iceland became colonized about the latter half of the ninth century of our era, by the Norwegians. This people of course introduced there the Norwegian idiom, and from that time to about the thirteenth century, the settled inhabitants of that island only used the *Norræna tunga*.[52]

M. Bergmann correctly says,—"In a poor country, separated from the rest of the world, like Iceland, where nothing existed to modify, or enrich, or greatly change a language, the Norwegian dialect continued in its simple purity for a long period. So actually we find, with the exception of a few slight changes in the grammatical construction, this dialect has remained the same for the course of some centuries. The alterations, however, become more evident, and go on increasing, from the thirteenth century to near the sixteenth century of our era, the epoch at which the ancient language and the ancient literature of Iceland had developed their full power, and when the period of the modern Icelandic language and literature began." Indeed the middle of the fourteenth century is esteemed the

ever it received the limited signification of Norwegian.—'Rep. Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen,' pp. 7, 8; 1851.

[52] The oldest specimen of the Icelandic is accounted the Jus Ecclesiasticum of the early part of the twelfth century. (It was published, by Joan. Thorkelyn. Hafn. 1775.) At least so Adelung observes, —"Jus Ecclesiasticum von 1123, welches wohl das älteste sichere denkmahl von dieser sprache ist." (Mithrid. vol. ii. p. 306.)

golden age of Icelandic literature, for then her best and most learned authors flourished.[53]

The ancient dialect which was used in Norway,[54] underwent by degrees, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, considerable alterations, caused especially by the constant and increasing influence that Denmark exerted over Norway, in particular from the union of the two nations under the same crown in the year 1380. About the beginning of the sixteenth century the Danish and the Norwegian languages so greatly resembled each other, that they soon became one, and a nearly identical, language. From that period, the term of *Norræna tunga*, or *Norrænt mál*, 'Northern tongue,' could no longer signify, at the same time, the Norwegian (*Norræna*) amalgamated with the Danish (*Dönsk*), as well as the ancient Norwegian or *Norse*, then spoken in Iceland. For the purpose of distinguishing this latter idiom, the more appropriate and exact name of *Icelandic* tongue, 'Islenzka tunga,' originated. And the same is well stated in the 'Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen' (1851, p. 8), as follows:—"The Icelanders thus called, in the oldest period, the language common to them and the whole North, Danish (*Dönsk tunga*), and afterwards styled it frequently *Norræn*. In a far later time, when the language in the rest of the North had become so changed that the ancient tongue ceased to be understood there, it was called Icelandic (*Islenzka*), because

[53] Iceland, during the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, appears not to have produced many able authors; but she has in the last two hundred years given birth to several learned men.

[54] Simeon Dunelmensis writes, in the twelfth century, *Norregani* for Norwegians, and *Norrega* for Norway; hence "Norræna tunga."

it was then confined to the *island of Iceland* alone, where this identical tongue has been preserved almost unchanged to our days, so that the common people yet read with interest the 'Sagas' and other ancient writings."

When therefore we consider that the Icelanders had already formed an original and copious literature,—to which the Norwegians themselves could lay no claim,—they evidently possessed a natural right to call their ancient language after their own country; not indeed from their having been the inventors, but because they were the retainers, and perhaps improvers, of that original dialect, which, I understand, is now no longer spoken in Scandinavia. The late Mr. Hallam, writing on the 'Literature of Europe,' during the first half of the seventeenth century, says nothing of the Norwegian or Icelandic literature of that age. He observes, with respect to Denmark that she "had no literature in the native language, except a collection of old ballads, full of Scandinavian legends, till the present period; and in this it does not appear that she had more than one poet, a Norwegian bishop, named Arrebo. Nothing, I believe, was written in Swedish."[55]

This account can be thus enlarged. Anders Christensen Arreboe was born in 1587, at Aeroe, and was Bishop of Drontheim; his principal poem is entitled 'Hexamæron; it was published in 1661, and became very popular. After him followed two lyric poets, Anders Bording and Thomas Kingo. The last was born in 1634, and became Bishop of Funen, and was celebrated for his beautiful hymns.

Swedish literature began to be improved by the

[55] Hallam, Lit. of Europe, vol. iii. p. 484.

two Messenii, father and son, early in the seventeenth century. The former wrote some 'Comedies.' But George Stjernhjelm, or Stiernholm, a Dalecarlian, was the best of the early Reformed poets in Sweden: he flourished about 1647, and is considered a refined and classical writer, having been an Italian scholar and traveller. His epic poem of 'Hercules' gained him much fame.

I may here mention a work containing very useful information on the 'Literature of Iceland,' by Hafder Einar, or Einarson; it is entitled 'Sciagraphia Historiæ Literariæ Islandicæ.' This book was published at Copenhagen, in the year 1777; and it gives a "Sketch of the Literary History of Iceland" up to the middle of the eighteenth century. It includes also a "Catalogue of the books printed, and of the manuscripts which have been written by the authors of that country."

In the ninth century of our era, those Norwegian colonists that settled themselves in Iceland, took there their own language and form of writing in the Runic characters,[56] their religion and mythical traditions, their laws and customs, their manners and habits, and their poetry and national songs.

"Poetry," it has been well observed by a late eminent traveller,[57] "has been long cultivated in Norway, and it was held in esteem among the inhabitants from the earliest periods of their history.

[56] Their alphabet was originally formed of Runic letters, of which there were only sixteen. But Runic writing appears to have been very little practised in the older times; *oral* communications were the most general.

[57] Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, vol. x. p. 412, 8vo edit.

'The Muse had broke the twilight gloom' (Gray)

long before they had any literary communication with more civilized nations. Their poetry, therefore, such as it is, must be regarded as their own. It may be compared indeed to the streams from their native mountains, rolling impetuously along their valleys, but unmixed with a single drop from any of the waters of Helicon."

Their national songs comprised some historical and traditional myths, which were known with the Runic writings by the term *Rûnar*,—that is to say, 'mysteries,' or 'secrets.' History and poetry were early fostered throughout Iceland; the former was cherished and retained in their minds by the *Sagamenn*,[58] or the narrators of annals and stories; and the latter was soon improved and perfected by the *skalds*, or poets. These persons, like the ancient bards, immortalized in song the prowess of those heroes who were slain in battle. We may therefore apply to them these lines from Lucan,[59] in which the Bardi are described,—

"Vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina," Skaldi.

These native, or Icelandic poets,[60] quickly became famous, and visited the different courts in northern Europe.

[58] *Sagamenn* strictly means 'sayer-men;' for *saga* is derived from *segia*, to tell, or say.

[59] Pharsal. i. 447.

[60] Some of the most eminent *Skalds* were,—Olaf Hvitaskald, Thord Kolbeinson, Einar Skalaglam, Eyvind Skaldaspillar, Egil Skallagrimson, Marcus Skeggiason, Ottar Svart, Sighvat Thordarson, Sturla Thordarson. Consult also the appendix to Wormius's Lit. Run. for a *Skalda-tal*, or list of the Skalds.

The Scandinavians practised the art of writing; but, as this was chiefly used for the record of their annals and historical facts, their hymns and national songs were merely consigned to memory. Consequently much of this sort of poetry has perished. Also as Romanism took root and spread among the Icelanders, their sagamenn and skalds became extinguished, and their oral songs in commemoration of Odin and the pagan deities were gradually forgotten. On the other hand, the introduction of the Latin alphabet, which was generally adopted by the Icelanders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, saved some of their poems; and it is in this alphabet that the celebrated collection of the ancient songs of Scandinavia,—called the "*Edda* of Sæmund,"—is preserved. "Even in Scandinavia itself," say the authors of the 'Literature and Romance of Northern Europe,' "the knowledge of the original hymns of the ancient religion had expired. It may therefore be supposed with what astonishment the learned men of Scandinavia received the news, about the middle of the seventeenth century, that there existed still in Iceland the most extraordinary productions of the most ancient times of the Odin period. The 'Edda Rhythmica,' or 'Edda of Sæmund,' was sent by Svenson (or Bryniolf Svendson, Bishop of Skalholt) from Iceland to the learned (Icelander) Torfæus (at Copenhagen), about that time, and awoke the wonder of the public."[61]

It is the general opinion in Iceland, since the fourteenth century, that this collection named 'Edda,' *i.e.* a 'Great-Grandmother,'—meaning, I conclude, merely

[61] See William and Mary Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of Northern Europe, vol i. p. 25.

a grandmother's or *ancient* tales or songs,—was composed or rather compiled, from Skaldic poems by Sæmund Sigfusson, the priest of Oddé, and poet,—surnamed *Hinn Frodé*, or 'the Sage,'—who died in A.D. 1133. Much well-founded doubt has arisen, as to whether or not this Sæmund was the true author, or compiler, of these ancient or Eddaic songs. M. Bergmann concludes that Sæmund the Sage was not the author of this poetical collection. And he states that Snorro Sturlason,[62] who wrote a century after (about A. D. 1230) both history and poetry, does *not* cite the Edda in any of his works, which he certainly would have done. Consequently, he observes that this collection did not then exist. And towards some confirmation of this view I may add the following remark of the authors before quoted. "Snorro Sturlason, the (reputed) author of the Prose Edda, spent sixteen years in the house of Sæmund's grandson, Ion Loptson, and thus both Eddas may be said to have originated at Oddé," in Iceland.[63] It would therefore appear to be impossible but Snorro must have known of Sæmund's Edda, had it then been

[62] This author took some historical matter from the poems of the Skalds for his 'Heimskringla.' In the preface to Schöning's edition of that work, the Skalds are thus mentioned (*vide* preface, p. 12, n.):—"Præcipuè carmina sumus secuti, quæ coram ipsis principibus aut eorum filiis sunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ istis in carminibus de eorum gestis aut bellis memoriæ sunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis est receptum, præcipuè laudare, cui ministrant. Ast nemo facile auderet, coram ipso principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipse quam alii præsentes scirent mera esse figmenta. Hoc dedecori, non laudi, esset." From the twelfth century, the Skalds were no longer heard of; and owing to the spread of Christianity, the *art* of *Skaldic* poetry, or *Skaldekonst*, had then ceased.

[63] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. pp. 120, 162, 163.

written; and in all probability, he would have cited, or made some mention of it, had the usually received Icelandic accounts of these two Eddas, and of their two commonly reputed authors or compilers, been correct. That other Edda,—the 'Edda Islandorum,'[64] written in prose (*ingre*) is also well known, and usually bears the title of the 'Snorra Edda,' from its supposed author, the same Snorro; but which, according to M. Bergmann, was the composition of a grammarian of Iceland, towards the close of the thirteenth century. This question need not be here examined.

In fact, both the Prose and Poetical Eddas, which are often called the Younger and Elder Eddas, seem to belong to about the same period. M. Bergmann says, "The Edda of Snorro[65] appears to us have been composed before the Edda of Sæmund;" and he brings forward several grounds in support of his opinion, which

[64] The Danish professor, Peter John Resen, published "Edda Islandorum, anno 1215 Islandicè conscripta, per Snorronem Sturlæ (filium) nunc primum Islandicè, Danicè, et Latinè in lucem edita. Havn. 1665." And "Eddæ Sæmundianæ, pars dicta 'Havamaal,' complexa Ethicam Odini; estque et Islandicè et Latinè, 1665." And also "Eddæ Sæmundianæ 'Voluspa,' continens Philosophiam Danorum Norwegorumque antiquissimam, 1665." But the Prose, or "Snorra Edda," was more accurately published by Rask, at Stockholm, in 1818.

[65] The late Dr. E. D. Clarke (Travels, vol. ix. 8vo edit. 1824, p. 97), says the Royal Library at Copenhagen contains "some thousand MSS." Here "they showed to us the MS. copy of the Edda by Snorro, and a printed copy of the same by Ismund: also a MS. collection of histories in the Icelandic language, in two folio volumes, called Codex Flateyensis." But I must observe that what the learned traveller describes as the *same* (Edda) "by Ismund," is most likely the poetical Edda of Sæmund. And the Codex Flateyensis, or "Flateyar Annall," is a collection of annals, which was begun by Are (*Hinn Frodé*) about the end of the eleventh century, and was so called from Flatoe, an Icelandic islet, where it was preserved.

I need not here detail, or try to determine. "As the first Edda received the name of Snorro," continues the same writer, "the second received that of Sæmund,—either, because the author of the collection really believed that the songs had been composed (or compiled) by Sæmund, or because he wished merely to place in his titlepage a name not less eminent than that of Snorro." And I may remark that the former, or Prosaic, Edda, though curious, is mixed with some extravagancies, and even wild stories, and that it is justly esteemed greatly inferior to the Poetic Edda,—which is an invaluable monument of the early,—indeed often sublime and vigorous, beauty of the genius and mental power of the northern nations.

The poems preserved in the Sæmund Edda are Epic, and chiefly include the earliest ideas of cosmogony as well as mythological and historical traditions; the former represent gods and goddesses alone, with descriptions of their various deeds and passions; whilst the latter, seemingly more modern, treat of heroes and heroines, originally historical, but in time rendered fabulous by poetry and tradition. "To the antiquity of some of these songs it would be vain to attempt to fix a limit. They bear all the traces of the remotest age. They carry you back to the East, the original region of the Gothic race. They give you glimpses of the Gudaheim, or 'home of the gods,' and of the" sources "of tradition. They bear you on in that direction towards the primeval period of one tongue, and one religion; and, in the words of the Edda, of that still greater God, 'whom no one dared to name,'"[66] the *Allfadir*, or Father of All.

[66] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. p. 29.

I will here give the following verses as a specimen of the poems of this Edda; they are taken from that called 'Völuspâ,'[67] or the Prophetess's (*Vala's*) 'Visions,' a mythological poem, which, in a form of prophetic *visions*, is considered to be one of the most noble as well as the most ancient, and written, during the prevalence of the heathen religion in Scandinavia. Indeed, the poetry of the 'Völuspâ'—

"By (Vala's) Bard, a magic name"—

is, according to M. Bergmann, very natural and simple, and he thinks must have been composed in the ninth century of the Christian era. His words are, "Il faut dire que l'idée en est grande et l'exécution en tout digne du sujet; la disposition des parties est bien ordonnée, le style presque toujours noble et poétique, l'ensemble et l'effet imposants et majestueux."

"Sôl tekr sortna, sigr fold î mar;
Hvërfa af himni heidar stiörnur;
Geysar eimi vid aldur-nara;
Leikr hâr hiti vid himin siâlfan.

"Sêr hon upp-koma ödru sinni
Iörd or oegi idia groena;
Falla forsar, flygr örn yfir
Sâ-ër à fialli fiska veidir.

. . . . .

"Sal sêr hon standa sôlo fegra,
Gulli thaktan â Gimli hâm;
Thar skulo dyggvar drôttir byggia,
Ok um aldur-daga yndis niôta."

[67] 'Völuspâ' is derived from *vala*, or *völva*, a 'divineress,' or prophetess, and in the genitive case *völu*. *Vala*, the verb, is 'to conceal,' and *vél*, a 'mystery.' Also, *spá* is a 'vision,' or prophecy; in Scotch, *spae*, 'to prophesy.' Tacitus (De Mor. Germ. cap. 8) mentions the Prophetess Veleda, and says, among the Germans the females were

These verses I have thus literally translated:—

"The sun begins to darken, the earth sinks heavily into
the sea;
From the heaven disappear the shining stars;[68]
Jets of steam[69] rise about the world's destroying fire;
The powerful flame acts against the very heaven.

She sees up-coming afresh
An Earth in the Ocean richly green;
There waterfalls descend, flies the Erne[70] over it,
And pounces from the fell's top upon fishes.

. . . . . .

"A Hall she sees, more splendid than the Sun,
To stand, covered with gold, in the glorious Gimli;[71]
There the righteous people shall inhabit,
And shall enjoy eternal happiness."

The 'Visions of Vala' here cited are taken from the conclusion of the poem; they relate to the destruction of the existing, but wicked, world, and the creation of a new one, in which no evil shall appear, and the righteous will be rewarded with everlasting bliss. Surely the poet thus conveys a ray derived from the light of Christian views!

supposed to *foresee* future events. So *Veleda* may possibly be derived from *vél*, 'a mystery,' and *edda*, a 'great-grandmother.'

[68] So we read in St. Matthew xxiv. 29: "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall rom heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." And compare Isaiah xiii. 10.

[69] I have rendered the word *Geysar* by 'jets of steam,' which here seem more appropriate than 'jets, or columns, of boiling water.' This is probably the earliest mention of the Geysars.

[70] Erne, called *Örn* in the 'Fauna Suecica,' is the Golden Eagle, which is known to inhabit Iceland, and feeds, among other substances, on different sorts of fish.

Gimli here doubtless signifies 'heaven,' or the abode of everlasting happiness.

"The great antiquity of the 'Eddaic Poems,' is shown by their being all composed in that simple, antique style, which is called the *fornyrdalag* (the 'narrative measure,' from being much like *daily* speech), having little or no alliteration (without terminal rhymes), and consisting of strophes of six or eight lines, having four long syllables in each line. The Skalds of and after the seventh century rarely used the *fornyrdalag*, or ancient manner, but the *drottqvædi*, or heroic measure, *toglag* (of Olafsen), and the *runhenda* (or 'popular measure') having alliterations and rhymes, and also *omqvædi* (or *vidqvædi*), or refrains. The death-song of Ragnor Lodbrog, which was composed towards the close of the ninth century,[72] is marked by the peculiar alliterations of the later Skalds, and sufficiently shows that the songs of the Edda were of an earlier period than that."

This is one of the last strophes of 'Lodbrog's Death-song,' or *Lodbrokar-Qvida*:—

"Hiuggom ver med hiaurvi!
Hardla lídr at arfe.
Grimt stendr grand af nathri.
Góin byggir sal hiarta.
Væntom hins at Vithris
Vaundr i Ello standi.
Sonom minom man svella
Sinn faudor rádin verda.
Ei mano snarpir sveinar
Sitt kyrt vera láta."

[72] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. p. 204. These authors say, "the eighth century." The true date appears to be about A.D. 865. Sharon Turner (book iii. chap. 3) states, our most respectable chronicles mark A.D 787 as the date of the first appearance of the Northmen (Danes) on the English coasts. He also

"We have hewn with the sabre! Now to my heir devolves the crown. Grim seem the terrors of the adder. Serpents nestle within my heart's recesses, yet 'tis the cordial of my soul that Vithris's lance shall soon stick fast in Ella. My sons will swell with vengeance at their parent's doom; those generous youths will, sure, forgo the sweets of peace."[73]

From these specimens it will be seen, that the poetry of Iceland is not arranged by metres, or feet, as that of Rome and Greece; but its chief character, in every sort of verse, consists of initial letter-rhyming, or alliteration; whilst the true, or terminal, rhyming, (called *hending* in Icelandic,) is only used in some kinds of verse. The number of long (*lángar*) syllables is also much considered. The Icelandic poems are nearly always divided into strophes, or stanzas of six, eight, or ten verses, and occasionally of more.

says (note 3, chap. 4), Ragnor Lodbrog, the Danish king, lived in the time of Egbert and Ethulwolf. Lodbrog was wrecked on the coast of Northumberland, when Ella was king of the north portion called Bernicia, who took him prisoner after a severe engagement. Ella cast him into prison, where according, to the legend, he suffered a cruel death among snakes and other reptiles. Ella himself was killed in battle with the Danes near York, in 867. It seems not improbable that Lodbrog was cast on the Northumbrian shore, somewhat north of Alnmouth; thence advancing southward with his piratical comrades he was attacked by Ella. The place where this occurred is possibly commemorated by the modern name of Lesbury, between Alnmouth and Alnwick; for, in that parish, common report has long mentioned the digging up of "bones of giants." Lesbury is easily corrupted from Lodbrog; Lodburg, Lodbury, Losbury.

[73] Page 31. 'Lodbrokar-Qvida,' translated by Rev. James Johnstone, 1782. According to Turner, these youths did wreak their vengeance on Ella for their parent's sad doom; "they divided his back, spread his ribs into the figure of an eagle, and agonized his lacerated flesh by the addition of the saline stimulant." (Anglo-Saxons, book iii. chap. 5.)

The principal kinds of Icelandic poetry are the Epic and Lyric; but the Didactic, especially the Dramatic, sort was quite unknown. Psalms and popular songs are more recent. In modern poetry, *fornyrdalag*, with alliteration, though without terminal rhyming, is still practised. Ballads, or lays (*rimur*), are now common; the lines of which always end with true rhymes.

The brief notice of Icelandic history and literature here intended, forbids me from attempting to examine the mythology of Iceland. The subject is nevertheless one of great interest, not only to the ethnologist, but also to the antiquary; and it is likewise one of vast extent,—for it would necessarily comprise a full explanation of all the ancient monuments of the nations in Scandinavia.

Among those works which have already been written on Scandinavian mythology, I may mention the 'Deutsche Mythologie,' by Herr J. Grimm; 'Der Mythus von Thôr,' by Herr L. Uhland; the 'Lexicon Mythologiæ Borealis,' by Finn Magnusson; the 'Northern Antiquities,' translated from the work of P. H. Mallet, professor at Copenhagen, including a translation of the Edda, and other pieces from the ancient Icelandic language (2 vols. Lond. 1770);—in this able publication, Mallet received much assistance from the eminent Icelander, Jon Eyrickson; 'On Odin and the Mythology of the Northern Nations,' by Herr von Suhm; also the work, here often cited, which was published (in Paris, in 1838) by M. Bergmann, and from which I have derived great help.

After the manner of the Skalds, the *Sagamenn* 'Sayer-men,' or narrators of events, were, for many ages, in Iceland, nearly equally famous. They also tra-

velled through the northern parts of Europe, visiting the different courts for the purpose of reciting from their memories the prose narratives, or Sagas, which were often mixed with romantic and fabulous traditions.

Sharon Turner, however, considers that the chronology of the Sagas and northern chronicles cannot be strictly depended upon.[74] This is partly to be expected with reference to the Icelandic Sagas, seeing that the narrators at first lived so isolated from European knowledge and civilization. But we must at the same time recollect, that the accounts given in one important Saga are often confirmed by the relations detailed in another, and thus show that they are generally faithful records of northern history.

Herr N. M. Petersen tells us,—"In the Sagas the predominant idea is not that of describing the transactions of an entire race or country, but only of depicting the most remarkable men of this or that race; they are therefore neither dry annals, nor regular history; and out of this peculiar constitution arise excellencies and defects which distinguish them as *unique* in their kind from the history of every other people. They are, namely, representations of real occurrences, yet have the appearance of romance; and they preserve for the most part an accurate chronology."

And Müller, the eminent author of the 'Saga Library,' writes[75]—"The Sagas afford a representation of life, both public and private, the actions and mercantile voyages of the Icelanders; they present, at the same time, a field, which comprises their complete

[74] Anglo-Saxons, book iii. chap. 3.

[75] Müller's preface, Saga Bibliothek, vol. i. Copenhagen, 1817.

social condition, whilst the number of these local and personal memoirs, which have been handed down to us, enable us to form a very correct idea of Icelandic history from the early settlements in that island even to our own age. The *Sagakonst*, or 'story-art,' that at the many friendly meetings and noble feasts kept up a social amusement, was ever awake for new facts and fresh transactions. The Icelanders, indeed, derived these events and facts from the oral traditions and reminiscences of ancient days, which the poems of their ancestors had preserved, as well as from the transactions which had occurred in the other countries of the North, and which were made known to them by their subsequently frequent voyagers. Consequently the Sagamenn became the relaters of most occurrences in the North, and when, by the means of Christianity, they learned the literature of other nations, they became annalists and historians. So then the Icelandic republic is important to us, not only as a free country, but as the nurse of northern history. An acquaintance with the mode in which the Eddas, or ancient poems, and the Sagas, or historical stories, were received as traditions throughout Iceland, can alone show the probability of their being authentic. From a comparison of the very many stories and accounts that belong to the island itself, with those which concern the other nations in the North, the amount of truthfulness which ought to be given to the latter can be the more readily determined. And since the Sagas relating to Iceland are not only abundant, but likewise present many characters in common, it is not difficult, by comparing them, to fix, from internal and external evidence, upon their precise age. Hence, from settled

modes of comparison, we may judge by internal evidence, whether a Saga really pertains to the antiquity of the North, or whether it be only the romance of a more recent period.

"But if the Icelandic Sagas, describing domestic events, throw light on the history of the heathen religion of the North, and declare its great influence, they become important, on the same account, both to Britons, who are so nearly related by blood to the Scandinavian races, and to many other nations in Europe."

The Saga literature is very extensive; "it consists of above two hundred volumes. The lists of these to be found in the 'Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ' of Torfæus, in Müller's 'Saga Bibliothek,' and in 'Bjorn Haldorson,' show that these productions are almost innumerable."[76]

Mr. Laing, the translator of the 'Heimskringla,' "justly remarks on this wonderful activity of the Icelandic and Scandinavian mind, during the five centuries, from the time of Bede, in the seventh and eighth centuries, to that of Matthew Paris, in the thirteenth, as throwing completely into the shade the literary achievements of the Anglo-Saxon portion of our ancestors, not only in amount, but in spirit and originality. While the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers are heavy and prosaic, the Skalds and Sagamenn of Iceland are full of life and imagination, as well as of historic knowledge."[77]

[76] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. p. 171. The Sagas may be classed under several heads, as the fabulous, the romantic, the biographical, and the historical.

[77] *Ibid.* p. 173.

Any more particular notice respecting the prose writers, historians, and chroniclers of Iceland will be unnecessary; it will be sufficient for me to observe, that that island produced several able historians, amongst whom were Islief, the first Icelandic annalist and bishop (who was alive in 1078), Are the Learned, and Sæmund Sigfusson,—previous to the appearance of any authors on history among the Danes, or Nordmenn. And I will only remark, that the richer natives of that island, which is almost out of the civilized world, exceedingly barren by nature, and deprived of so many of the advantages of more southern climes, were by no means behind their more fortunate friends in eastern Europe, although separated from them by such an extent of ocean, in cultivating their mental energies, and in producing for themselves a rich, varied, and original literature.

Owing also to the extreme shortness of the days in their continued winter, and as little or no outdoor work could be carried on during that inclement season, even the poorer Icelanders, compelled to be within-doors, enjoyed more than ample time for study and literary pursuits. So these causes, combined with their want of an extensive commerce and of many mercantile employments, naturally made them seek pleasure and occupation in committing to memory numerous poetical narrations, as well as the accounts of interesting events, which at length they learned to preserve by writing, for the amusement and instruction of their families and posterity.

But I must not omit to make slight mention of the most important work of the native Icelandic historians, and which has lately been translated into English

by Mr. S. Laing. "This, which is a 'Chronicle of the Kings of Norway,' and merely called 'Heimskringla,' from the first leading word of the manuscript, *heimskringla*, or 'home-circle,' the circle of the earth, is an admirable history (by Snorro Sturlason) of a great portion of Northern Europe, from about the time of the Christian era, or soon after it, to 1177, or the twenty-third year of the reign of our Henry II., or one hundred and eleven years after the Norman Conquest. It traces Odin and his Asar from the East—that is, from Asaland, and Asgärd, its chief city—to the North, gives us the settlement of Scandinavia, and then the contests amongst its petty kings till Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are established as three compact nations, each under its own monarch. It includes the *Vikingr* (sea-roving, or pirate) expeditions to all parts of the world, the discovery and settlement of Iceland and Greenland, and the discovery also of (a portion of) the coast of America. It details the conquest of Normandy, and afterwards that of England. And this it does, not in the dry manner too common with chroniclers, but with a life and freshness which belong only to true genius."[78]

Instead of adding any specimens of prose in the old Norse or Icelandic language, I purpose, in conformity with the plan I adopted in my former memoir, 'On the Sicilian and Sardinian Languages,'[79] to subjoin here a version of the Lord's Prayer in the different dialects of the Northern tongues. The comparative linguist will thus be enabled at once to trace the re-

[78] Howitt's Lit. and Rom. of N. Europe, vol. i. p. 147.

[79] See Trans. Royal Society of Literature, vol. iv. p. 340-1, Second Series.

semblances and differences that occur in each of them respectively.

I. Runic.[80]

Fader uor, som est i himlum,
1. Halgad worde thitt nama.
2. Tilkomme thitt rikie.
3. Skie thin vilie, sosom i himmalan, so och po jordanne.
4. Wort dachlicha brodh gif os i dagh.
5. Ogh forlat os uora skuldar, sosom ogh vi forlate them os skyldighe are.
6. Ogh inled os ikkie i frestalsan,
7. Utan frels os ifra ondo.

Ty rikiad ar thitt, ogh maghtan, ogh harligheten, i ewighet. *Aman.*

II. Icelandic.[81]

Fader vor, thu som ert a himnum,
1. Helgest thitt nafn.
2. Tilkome thitt rüke.
3. Verde thinn vilie, so a jordu, sem a himne.
4. Gieff thu oss i dag vort daglegt braud.
5. Og fiergieff oss vorar skulder, so sem vier fierergiefum vorum skuldinautum.
6. Og inleid oss ecke i freistne,
7. Heldr frelsa thu oss fra illu.

Thuiad thitt et rüked, og maatr, og dyrd, in alld er allda. *Amen.*

[80] *Vide* 'Oratio Dominica, Πολύγλωττος, Πολύμορφος,' Lond. CIↃIↃCC. The original is also given (p. 22) in Runic characters. "Auctor Fr. Junius P. F."

[81] *Ibid.* p. 23. Adelung, 'Mithridates,' vol. ii. p. 308, gives, in his version, taken from the 'Icelandic Bible' of 1584, the following different readings:—'dageligt,' in 4; 'firigief,' 'firergiefun,' and 'skulldunautum,' in 5; and 'Thuiat,' 'er,' 'Maattr,' 'um allder Allda,' in the last lines.

III. Norwegian.[83]

Wor Fader, du som est y himmelen,

1. Gehailiget worde dit nafn.
2. Tilkomma os riga dit.
3. Din wilia geskia paa jorden, som handt er udi himmelen.
4. Giff os y tag wort dagliga brouta.
5. Och forlaet os wort skioldt, som wy forlata wora skioldonar.
6. Och lad os icke komma voi fristelse,
7. Man pals os fra onet.

Thy rigit er dit, macht, och kracht, fra evighait til evighait. *Amen.*

IV. Swedish.[83]

Fader war, som ast i himmelen,

1. Helgat warde titt nampn.
2. Till komme titt ricke.
3. Skee tin wilie sa pa jordenne som i himmelen.
4. Wart dagliga brod giff oss i dagh.
5. Och forlat oss wara skulder, sa som ock wiforlaten them oss skyldige aro.
6. Och in leed oss icke i frestelse,
7. Ut an frals oss i fra ondo.

Tii riiket ar titt, och machten, och harligheten, i ewigheet. *Amen.*

V. Danish.[84]

Wor Fader i himmelen,

1. Helligt vorde dit naffn.
2. Tilkomme dit rige.
3. Worde din willie, paa jorden sam i himmelen.
4. Giff oss i dag vort daglige bred.

[83] 'Oratio Dominica,' p. 48; the marginal reference being "auctor *Micrælius*, p. 124." Adelung ('Mithridates,' vol. ii. p. 304) reads 'ickie,' and 'udi' for *voi*, in 6.

[83] *Ibid.* p. 48. "Auctor Bibl. Suec. Stockholm, 4."

[84] *Ibid.* p. 55. "Auctor N. T. Hutt, Norib. 1599."

5. Oc forlad oss vor skyld, som wi forlade vore skyldener.
6. Oc leed oss icke i fristelse,
7. Men frelss oss fra ont.

Thi rigit er dit, oc krafft, oc herlighed, i ewighed. *Amen.*

VI. Orcadian (*Orkneys*).[85]

Favor i ir i chimrie,

1. Helleur ir i nam thite.
2. Gilla cosdum thite cumma.
3. Veya thine mota vara gort o yurn sinna gort i chimrie.
4. Ga vus da on da dalight brow vora.
5. Firgive vus sinna vora, sin vee firgive sindara mutha vus.
6. Lyv us ick ye i tuntation,
7. Min delivera vus fro olt ilt. *Amen.*

VII. Anglo-Saxon.[86]

Fæther ure, thu the eart on heofenum,

1. Si thin nama gehalgod.
2. To-becume thin rice.
3. Gewurthe thin willa on eorthan, swa-swa on heofenum.
4. Urne dæghwamlican hlaf syle us to dæg.
5. And forgyf us ure gyltas, swa-swa we forgyfath urum gyltendum.
6. And ne gelædde thu us on costnunge,
7. Ac alys us of yfele. *Sothlike.*

VIII. Old English.[87]

Our Fadir, that art in hevenes,

1. Halowid be thy name.
2. Thy kingdom come to.
3. Be thy will done as in heven and in eryth to.

[85] 'Oratio Dominica,' p. 65.

[86] *Ibid.* p. 53. "Auctor Fr. Junii, Goth. et Anglo-Saxon Vers.

[87] *Ibid.* p. 66. "Auctor Joan Wicleff, circa an. 1380.—Matt. vi.

4. Gif us this day our breede, our daily substance.
5. And forgive to ous our debtis as we forgiven to our debtours.
6. And lead ous not into temptation,
7. But deliver ous from yvel. *Amen.*

The first version of the 'Lord's Prayer' here given is in Runic, which is the earliest dialect of the Norwegians or Nordmenn, and is a little different from the *Islenzka tunga*, or Icelandic,—the old Norse (*Norska*), No. II. I have not thought necessary to transcribe it in the Runic characters (*Rúnar*), those singular, stiff, black, and rudely formed letters, which were taken to Iceland by the earliest colonists in the ninth century, and were chiefly in use there until about the year 1057, when Bishop Islief introduced the method of writing with the Latin alphabet. To the *Rúnar*, some Scandinavian authors see a resemblance, as well in the forms of the earliest Greek letters as in their number; and they deduce therefrom a proof of the migration of their ancestors from the vicinity of the Euxine.[88] The

[88] The Scandinavians are considered to have originally emigrated from the country of the *Asir*, or *Æsir*,—the *Asæi* probably, who were a renowned Scythian race, whose capital was *Asgard*, meaning the 'fence,' or 'fort,' of the Asir, and which was situate somewhere near the Caspian Sea. Jornandez (about A.D. 552), whom so many authors have implicitly followed, says the Goths issued from *Scanzia*, which he incorrectly calls "insula," "officina gentium," and "vagina nationum." This Scandinavian territory, covered with mountains, forests, and lakes, was for long after our era very thinly inhabited; and the earliest colonizers of which, according to the most accurate historians, were the descendants of the Sarmatian Getæ, the Gothi, and some other Scythian tribes, from the neighbourhood of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and Palus Mœotis. It will therefore appear that these observations of Gibbon are more true than he perhaps conceived them to be:—"In the beginning of the sixth

word *Rûnar* occurs in the following line from the ancient poem Völuspâ,—

"Ok â Fimbultŷs fornar Rûnar."[89]

Long before Christianity was introduced into northern Europe, Runic characters were general; and they continued to be employed in certain writings and inscriptions some time afterwards:—principally indeed on the *bautastenar*, or tombstones, and on *stafvar*, or staves. As the noun *rûn* signifies both a 'mystery,' or secret, and a 'writing,'[90] so *rûnar*, or Runic writings, were

century, and after the conquest of Italy, the Goths, in possession of present greatness, very naturally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and of future glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements. The principal minister of the Court of Ravenna, the learned Cassiodorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a Gothic History, which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to the imperfect abridgment of Jornandez. These writers passed with the most artful conciseness over the misfortunes of the nation, celebrated its successful valour, and adorned the triumph with many Asiatic trophies that more properly belonged to the people of Scythia." He adds afterwards:—"The tribes that fought under the Gothic banners, are sometimes distinguished and sometimes confounded in the imperfect histories of that age; and as the barbarian fleets seemed to issue from the mouth of the Tanais, the vague but familiar appellation of Scythians was frequently bestowed on the mixt multitude." To this he annexes the following note:—"Zosimus and the Greeks (as the author of the 'Philopatris') give the name of Scythians to those whom Jornandez and the Latin writers constantly represent as Goths." (Gibbon, Rom. Em. vol. i. ch. 10.) I may also remark that Procopius (lib. iv.) expressly says the Goths came from the Mœotis.

[89] Verse 242, literally, 'and the fore (former) *runes* of Fimbultyr,' but commonly translated, 'and the ancient *mysteries* of Fimbultyr.'

[90] But Olaus Wormius says the word *Runes*, or *Rûnar*, signifies the same as *Rynner*, which means the 'furrows made by a plough' (*vide* De Lit. Run. p. 3). The mode of cutting, or inscribing, the Runic letters on stone or wood, is not unlike a plough-furrow.

considered by ignorant persons as possessing some magical power, a sort of literary witchcraft.[91]

The original dialect of the Icelandic is chiefly retained in poetry, and there remain in the poetical compositions of the island some ancient forms of writing and grammatical peculiarities, which it will be superfluous here to detail. But the same pronunciation of the language, with very slight exceptions, prevails throughout the whole of Iceland, and it is found to be, even among the common people, nearly identical; thus showing that Von Troil[92] is incorrect in considering that there are as many as four chief dialects of the Icelandic. At Reikjavik, and in other ports, however, the common class use many Danish words, which they have learned from the sailors and merchants trading with Denmark.

I may observe that the pronunciation of Icelandic is perfectly regular, and quite answering to the mode of spelling. But it must be borne in mind that all the vowels have two sounds;—one hard, which is marked by an accent over it; the other is soft. Hence attention to the accenting and pronouncing of words is very essential, for otherwise the same word would be confounded with another totally different meaning,—thus, *hèr*, 'here;' *her*, 'army;' *lèdr*, 'borrowed;' *ledr*, 'leather;' *vìn*, 'wine;' *vin*, friend;' *màgr*, 'son-in-law;' *magr*, 'meagre;' *sètti*, 'seventh;' *setti*,

[91] Bishop Percy has well said,—"No barbarous people were so addicted to writing, as appears from the innumerable quantity of Runic inscriptions scattered all over the North; no barbarous people ever held letters in higher reverence, ascribing the invention of them to their chief deity (Odin), and attributing to the letters themselves supernatural virtues."

[92] See Adelung, 'Mithridates,' vol. ii. p. 305.

'set,' etc. In the modern pronunciation of the Icelandic, the *first* syllable has always a full and long sound; the *second* is short. In words of three syllables, the second syllable is longer than the third; as *mănnēskjă*, 'mankind.' In words of four syllables, the third is a long one, as *ăvĭnnīnğr*, 'winnings;' except indeed in compound words of the two last instances, the last, if a monosyllable, is long, as *pāpĕr-særk*, 'paper-sheet,' *mănnēskjŭlīgt*, 'man-like.' *R* or *ur* terminal, is esteemed in prose as a short syllable, but in poetry it is rarely pronounced. Single consonants always render the preceding vowel long; and double consonants have a hard pronunciation, even after accented vowels. In a word having three consonants together, the weakest is not pronounced, as *volgt* sounds *voltt; fyrstr*, *fisstr*. A nasal sound is given to all diphthongs and vowels before the letters *m* and *n*, except when a consonant intervenes. A simple vowel, that is, one not accented, at the end of a word of more than one syllable, is in poetry and conversation omitted before a word commencing with a vowel.

In the modern Icelandic some variations in writing are apparent; such as the terminations of many words in *ur* for *r*; *bl* for *fl*; *ft* for *pt*; as *aftur* for *aptur*; *gt* or *ckt* for *kt*, as *lygt* for *lykt*, *ackt* for *akt*, and the like. Words frequently terminate in *e* instead of *i*; as *daler* for *dalir*, *sagde* for *sagdi*. Also *eig* is used for *eg*, when followed by an *i*, as *deigi* for *degi*; *ie* for *e*, as *giefa* for *gefa*; *ie* and *ji* for *i*. A single *l* is now often placed for *ll* in such words as *skylld*, *ölld*, etc. *V* and *j* are distinguished from *u* and *i* before every vowel; *av* and *au* are abandoned for *ö*; and *s* is frequently put, in genitive cases, for *z*.

In certain proper names the final *r* is omitted, and likewise in some words used in poetry, as *Fridrek*, *lofdung*, instead of *Fridrekr* and *lofdungr*. *U* is added in some cases of feminine substantives, as *meyuna* for *meyna*. *C* or *k* is changed into *g* in personal pronouns, as *eg*, *mig*, and in some other words. *Eg* is usually written in the commencement of a sentence.

Dialects slightly altered indeed from the original language of the Nordmenn, or the Norse, were long spoken in the Orkneys, the Shetland and Feroe Islands; and even at this day, in the Feroe Isles, an idiom but little different from the *Islenzka tunga* is in use; this may be seen in the only remains of *Feroean* literature that have been preserved,—namely, a collection of ballads, or popular songs, which was published by Lyngbye, about thirty-five years ago, in Denmark. Whilst, on the other hand, it is to be remarked that the Swedish, Danish, and modern Norwegian are now so different, and possess so many various idioms or dialects that the people of one place, in each of those countries, have frequently great difficulty in comprehending the native tongue of those resident in another and closely neighbouring district.

Before I conclude these remarks on the language of Iceland, the old Norse, which was originally common to Norway and Denmark, and doubtless to the whole of Scandinavia, I must add some words (among many others) that are still retained in daily use by the common people in many portions of Britain, which the Danes—or several Scandinavian races under that general appellation—had subdued, and where they had for many years established themselves.

I will confine myself in the following examples to

those words, either pure or slightly corrupted, with which I, as a native of Deira,—that southern part of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, often mistaken for the modern county of Northumberland only, but which in fact constituted the entire north-eastern division of England, from the banks of the Humber to those of the Tweed,—have been from my youth familiar.

This large portion of England having been pillaged and overrun, during the constant irruptions of the Danes, or Nordmenn, in the eighth and up to the middle of the ninth centuries, at length was formed by them into a separate kingdom, and continued under the dominion of the Danish sceptre for a long period.

Icelandic.	*English.*	*Icelandic.*	*English.*
akarn	acorn	dyn	noise
akur	acre (field)	dyr	door
allr	all	egg	egg
barn	child	eik	oak
bær	byre (cowhouse)	ein	one
betra	better	eldra	elder
bezta	best	elf	river
blad	blade	eyra	ear
blar	blue	fadir	father
blek	black	farvel	farewell
bra	brow	fingur	finger
braud	bread	fjædur	feather
brodir[93]	brother.	fjoll	fell
brunnr	burn	fodur	fodder
dalr	dale	foolk	people (folk)
drit	dirt	foss	force (cascade)
dropi	drop	fra	from

[93] In parts of Durham, the words *broder*, *fader*, *moder*, *murther*, etc., are used for 'brother,' 'father,' 'mother,' 'murder,' etc.

dic.	*English.*	*Icelandic.*	*English.*
n	frozen	illvirki	illworker
	fowl	kaldr	cold
	first	kalla	to call
	to go	ketill	kettle
n	fence (garden)	klo	claw
	to gape	knijffr	knife
	gift	kosta	to cost
	yell	krank	sick
	glad	kross	cross
	to gladden	ku	cow
	good (goody)	kunna	to be able (can)
	grey	lægst	lowest
	grass	land	land
	branch	leysa	to loose
	gripe	limr	limb
	grain	merkja	to mark
ing	gold ring	mildi	mildness
	hair	mjolk	milk
	to have	morgun	morning
	hammer	myri	mire (boggy place)
ra	harder	nadri	adder (nadder)
	to hate	nakt	naked
	hat	nott	night
	hot	nya	new
	cave (hell)	nyt	nut
	hay	oss	us
	heart	poke	bag
	leap	quiga	quey (heifer)
	what	rang	wrong
	haven	salt	salt
	hill	sandr	sand
	hand	silfur	silver
	raven	sjon	seeing (sight)
	rig	smidr	smith
ad	hundred	sniar	snow
	ice	snipa	snipe

Icelandic.	*English.*	*Icelandic.*	*English.*
sækja	to seek	theinkja	to think
soa	to sow	thu	thou
steff	staff	torf	turf
steik	steak	thræll	thrall
stein	stone	thraung	throng
stra	straw	thynnst	thinnest
strænd	strand	trua	to trow
stunta	stunted	tuær	two
sumar	summer	ut	out
sverd	sword	vedur	weather
syster	sister	vel	well
ta	toe	vin	vine
tamit	tamed	vind	wind
thak	thatch	vopn	weapon
thar	there	yngst	youngest

After these examples, I need not annex any more words from the Icelandic, but will adduce the following passage, from the late Earl of Ellesmere's able 'Introduction' to his 'Guide to Northern Archæology,' in confirmation of my view. He has there (p. xv.) written,—"In the British islands the language was anciently the same, in a great measure, with that of Scandinavia; in proof of which we may quote this passage from the *Saga* of Gunnlaug Ormstunga and Rafn the Skald: 'King Ethelred (Jatgeirsson) ruled then in England. He resided that winter (1006) in London. The language in England was at that time the same (*Dönsk tunga*) as in Denmark and Norway[94] (*ein* var thá *tunga* i Englandi *sem* i Danmörku ok Noregi); but when William the Bastard took possession of the country, the language underwent a change, and from that time the Roman (*Valska*) was

[94] See also note p. 349, *ante*.

introduced.'" The noble author, however, properly remarks, this "must be understood with some limitation;" meaning, I conclude, that *that tongue* of course only prevailed in the north of England, and in other places where the Danes had chiefly settled.

In the place of giving a catalogue of the principal prose and poetical compositions in Icelandic, I will now take a brief survey of the progress of literature in that island, and also mention how that was assisted by the principal literary Societies which had been instituted during the last and present centuries. For about five hundred years after the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, there existed several convents, in which the monks made some important contributions to literature; and the Benedictines particularly, prior to the year 1550, when Romanism began to yield to Lutheran tenets, preserved many ancient manuscripts.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Arne Magnusson collected in the island all ancient and modern manuscripts. Unfortunately the greater portion of these valuable Icelandic documents were destroyed by fire in Copenhagen (whither they had been conveyed) a few years afterwards. Our British Museum possesses a good collection of Icelandic manuscripts, some of which were brought from that island by Sir Joseph Banks. Letters in Iceland had been much neglected from 1540 to about 1640, and this is, in fact, considered one of her darkest ages of knowledge. Then the celebrated Olaf Worm recalled attention to it, and to its torpid state; but after his death, in 1654, the King of Denmark was more successful in advancing the revival of literature. A century after-

And I cannot conclude this Memoir without referring to the "Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen," whose recent labours have already thrown so much light on Scandinavian antiquities and history. They have commenced the ancient historical writings of Iceland, *Islandinga Sögur*,[98] of which the first two volumes have been issued; the editing of the original old Danish, or 'Icelandic' text, being executed by Jon Sigurdson. They likewise continue the publication of several able periodical works in elucidation of the ancient history, jurisprudence, and philology of Scandinavia; and, in particular, they progress satisfactorily with the volumes of the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*, which comprise important treatises and essays, not only in the Danish and Swedish, but also in the Icelandic languages.

[98] Or in Icelandic, *Islenzka Saga*. There still remains a large collection of annals, chronicles, and sagas, preserved in many manuscripts, in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which relates to the history of Iceland, and other Scandinavian countries. The chief of these sagas I here alphabetically name: *Eigla, Eyrbyggia, Færeyinga, Gunlauga, Heimskringla, Hungurvaka, Kormaks, Kristni, Landnama, Laxdæla, Niala, Orkneyinga, Sturlunga*, and *Vatnsdæla*.

was instituted by the late eminent philologist, Professor Rask, at Copenhagen, and of which he was the first President. This learned traveller and linguist—one of Denmark's most illustrious sons—paid great attention to the Icelandic tongue; and indeed published a good grammar[97] of it, the result of his three or four years' residence in that island. The objects of this excellent Society were chiefly the publication of select useful books, not only in the language of the island, but also in those foreign languages which are most requisite for education. The books published by the Society are printed in Copenhagen, and thence forwarded to Reikjavik, in Iceland. In addition to its Transactions, the Society has given to the world, in 1817–20, an able edition of the *Sturlunga Saga*, with learned notes. Also many volumes of 'Iceland's Annals,' *Islands Arbækur;* and *Liodmæli*, or 'Minor Poems,' which were written in Icelandic by S. Olafson, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Professor Finn Magnussen prefixed to these poems a biographical memoir of the author.

Of our English works, a few only have been translated into Icelandic. The following are the names of those which I have found:—Pope's 'Temple of Fame,' 'Messiah,' and 'Essay on Man;' Home, on the Scurvy, and Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' The last is thus entitled, *Ens Enska Skalds Jon Milton's Paradisar Missir*, 'A Translation of the Poet J. Milton's Paradise Lost.' It is composed in the Eddaic verse.

[97] For Icelandic dictionaries, see Professor P. J. Resenius's 'Lexicon Islandicum *Gudmundi Andreæ* Islandi,' Havn. 1683; and Haldorson's Icelandic and Latin Dictionary; 'Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, Bjorn Haldorsonii, curâ E. Rask,' Copenh. 1814.

And I cannot conclude this Memoir without referring to the "Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen," whose recent labours have already thrown so much light on Scandinavian antiquities and history. They have commenced the ancient historical writings of Iceland, *Islandinga Sögur*,[98] of which the first two volumes have been issued; the editing of the original old Danish, or 'Icelandic' text, being executed by Jon Sigurdson. They likewise continue the publication of several able periodical works in elucidation of the ancient history, jurisprudence, and philology of Scandinavia; and, in particular, they progress satisfactorily with the volumes of the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*, which comprise important treatises and essays, not only in the Danish and Swedish, but also in the Icelandic languages.

[98] Or in Icelandic, *Islenzka Saga*. There still remains a large collection of annals, chronicles, and sagas, preserved in many manuscripts, in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which relates to the history of Iceland, and other Scandinavian countries. The chief of these sagas I here alphabetically name: *Eigla, Eyrbyggia, Færeyinga, Gunlauga, Heimskringla, Hungurvaka, Kormaks, Kristni, Landnama, Laxdæla, Niala, Orkneyinga, Sturlunga*, and *Vatnsdæla*.

X.—ON SOME TRADITIONS RELATING TO THE SUBMERSION OF ANCIENT CITIES.

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
PRESIDENT.

(Read May 17th, 1858.)

I DO not think it necessary to offer any apology for the character of the stories which will be considered in this Paper, as if they might appear beneath the notice of a learned Society. No doubt, if they were to be looked upon as the invention of individuals, they would be quite unworthy of any serious attention. But when viewed as the spontaneous utterances of the impression made on the popular imagination, in a rude state of society, by certain natural phenomena, they rank among the facts which have always been justly regarded as materials of no slight value for the history of the human mind, and which, as such, have been carefully preserved by intelligent travellers, and brought together, under various aspects, by writers on mythology. Such legends acquire a peculiar interest, when we find a resemblance, even in very minute features, between those which have sprung up at long intervals of time, and which belong to regions very remote from one another, so that it is hardly conceivable that there should have been a traditional con-

nection between them. I think I shall be able to produce some rather curious instances of such resemblance. And this will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for bringing them before the Society. But to myself, the chief attraction of the subject has consisted in the affinity which I thought I could perceive among the legends of one very large class, and which appeared sufficiently to account for that resemblance, where otherwise it might seem to countenance the hypothesis of a historical transmission. Even an unsuccessful attempt at such an explanation, as it may suggest one more satisfactory, may not be wholly worthless.

In a Paper which I read to the Society last year, I remarked on one of the accounts given of the destruction of Sipylus, that "it was one of the numberless legends to be found in all parts of the world, from Ireland to Abyssinia, one of which still lingers in the mouths of the peasantry round Albano, about ancient cities covered by lakes, and commonly, as there, connected with some story of divine retribution for impious pride, such as was imputed to Tantalus." I will now give some of the examples to which I alluded. But before I bring forward the Italian, African, and Irish legends, I will notice some which belong to Greece, and which, though they do not illustrate exactly the same side of the subject to which that remark referred, are important for the more general view which I am about to take of it.

It is well known, that in several parts of Greece, especially in Bœotia and Arcadia, where there are plains entirely surrounded by hills, without any opening on the surface, the cultivation of the ground, and

even the safety of the inhabitants, depend on the subterraneous passages, by which the waters, which would otherwise rise to a great height, find an issue. Whenever those passages are choked, a more or less disastrous inundation is the inevitable consequence. I will only mention the lake Copais, as perhaps the most signal and familiar example of the physical phenomenon. But I must dwell for a few moments on the legends of Pheneus and Stymphalus. From time immemorial the little valley of Pheneus has been subject to inundations which convert the lower part into a lake. The height to which the waters have risen, appears to be marked by the colour of the rocks, "along which," according to Colonel Leake's description (*Morea*, iii. 147), "at a height of about fifty feet above the level of the plain, there is a line, seeming to mark the depth of water when all this plain was a lake; all below the mark being of a lighter colour than the rest of the mountain." Most travellers, ancient and modern, have adopted this explanation of the appearance of the rocks. Colonel Leake, who, in 1806, found the plain drained and well cultivated, thought the indication doubtful, and believed that it might be better accounted for as the effect of evaporation, conceiving that "all the waters which flow into the Pheneatic basin would be insufficient to raise the water to half the height of the discoloured line." But fifteen years after Colonel Leake's visit, as I learn from the work of Curtius on the Peloponnesus (i. 189), some obstruction occurred in the Katábothra, through which the waters find their way into the Alpheus, and in 1828 caused an inundation which covered the whole plain, in some places to the depth of 150 feet. Had

the waters continued to rise, Curtius observes, they would have overflowed the ridge of Guiozo, and have poured down into the vale of Orchomenus. But the obstruction suddenly gave way; a happy omen, it was thought, as the King of Greece was just mounting the throne; and the flood subsided as rapidly as it had risen. The consequence, however, was, that while the valley of Pheneus was restored to cultivation, though in the lower part covered with a deep deposit of fresh soil, the plain of Olympia was laid under water by the swelling of the Ladon and the Alpheus.

There can be no doubt that similar events took place from time to time in remote ages, and they have left their trace, if not on the rocks, in the legends of the country. The subjugation of Elis effected by Hercules in an expedition which he made from Pheneus, is considered by Curtius as the mythical expression for an occurrence like that of 1828. And to the like origin he would refer the story of Ulysses finding his stray horses—the horse was the familiar symbol of a gushing spring, or rapid stream—at Pheneus, through the help of Artemis, to whom, in gratitude for this favour, and for the excellent pasture which his horses found in the valley, he dedicated a temple, with the title, Heurippé, the Finder of Horses. What is certain is, that in the ancient local legends, Hercules was represented as the author, not only of the canal which confined the course of the Aroanius through the plain, but of the subterraneous passage; while the inundation was attributed to the wrath of Apollo for the loss of the tripod which the hero had carried off from Delphi to Pheneus. The chasm itself was viewed with awe

by the ancient inhabitants of the valley as one of the avenues to the realm of Hades; and I am strongly inclined to believe, that the grotesque story which Col. Leake found current among the modern peasantry, of a conflict between two dæmons who possessed the lake, in which the one who was worsted made his escape through the mountain, and thus opened a passage for the waters, is merely the modern version of the highly significant classical fable preserved by Conon (*Narr.* 15), of Pluto's carrying off Proserpine by the same way, and of Demeter's rewarding the people of Pheneus, who showed her the chasm, with manifold blessings.

At Stymphalus we find exactly similar physical phenomena—a lake which discharges its waters through a like subterraneous channel, only in the opposite direction, so as to reappear in the Erasinus, and be carried into the Gulf of Argolis. Curtius states, that in ordinary seasons, the water rises and falls periodically, and after a rainy winter usually covers about a third of the lower plain; while, as it has but one outlet, any obstruction causes an inundation. Such a calamity befell the Stymphalians in the time of Pausanias. It was attributed to the wrath of the Stymphalian Artemis, provoked by some neglect of her rites. The obstruction was removed, when a deer, pursued by a hunter, took to the water, and both man and beast went down into the chasm. Curtius interprets this story as founded on a human sacrifice offered to propitiate the goddess, and would explain the deer as a symbol equivalent to the horse in the legend of Ulysses at Pheneus. I doubt about this. But the material point is, that we have here another Artemis, who is distinctly connected with the lake, as

the power to whom it was immediately subject, and to whom it belonged to regulate its level for the weal or woe of Stymphalus. The image of the famous Stymphalian birds—a symbol of the noxious exhalations which arose from the stagnant waters, so as to call for a labour of Hercules, similar to that which he accomplished at Pheneus—in wood and in marble, were among the ornaments of her ancient temple in Stymphalus. Welcker observes (*Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 586), that the Stymphalian Artemis was probably worshiped as an Artemis Limnæa, or Limnatis, though not expressly designated by that epithet. For she was the goddess of fountains, rivers, and lakes, considered as supplying nourishment to vegetable and animal life; and this, as we have seen, was probably the meaning of her title, Heurippé, at Pheneus.

I now pass on to Albano, and I must transcribe a few sentences from Niebuhr's *History*, with a note which I appended to the translation. "The surface of the lake," Niebuhr says (i. p. 197), "now lies far below the ancient city: when Alba was standing, and before the waters swelled to a ruinous highth in consequence of some obstructions in the outlets, it must have lain yet lower; for in the age of Diodorus and Dionysius, during extraordinary droughts, the remains of some spacious buildings might be seen at the bottom, and the common people took them for the palace of an impious king which had been swallowed up." I must here observe that I very much doubt that this supposed original Alba ever existed, or that any such remains of buildings were ever visible. The grounds of this doubt will be assigned by-and-by. But the passage reminded me of a legend which I had heard a

few years before from my young guide at Albano, and which I recorded in the note. "Where the lake now lies, there once stood a great city. Here, when Jesus Christ came into Italy, he begged alms. None took compassion on him but an old woman, who gave him two handfuls of meal. He bade her leave the city: she obeyed: the city instantly sank, and the lake rose in its place." Here again, as at Pheneus, I venture to believe that we have the Christian version of a Pagan legend, but I do not believe that there is a particle more of historical truth in the one form of it than in the other.

Let us now compare the modern legend with one which is recorded by Major Harris in the following passage of his Travels in the Highlands of Ethiopia. (ii. p. 343.) "Of yore, when the spot now inundated (by the lake Álobár) was *terra firma*, the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared in the house of the wealthiest cultivator residing in the many flourishing villages that then existed, and to have addressed herself to the mistress, saying, 'I am hungry and have nothing to eat; give me corn, and I will grind for wages.' A vast heap of grain was pointed out, sufficient for a week's labour, but no sooner had the Virgin touched it, than it was miraculously converted into meal. The inhospitable master now refused the pittance claimed, nor would the 'Four Chairs,' before whom the complaint was carried, give redress, until a poor shepherd had become mediator. As a mark of the displeasure of Heaven, the scene of this offence against the Mother of Christ was forthwith converted into a lake, which has since formed the abode of the lord of all the gins and evil spirits in the land."

The coincidence between the Ethiopian and the Italian legend would be curious enough in itself, but it becomes still more interesting, if we compare them both with a third, which is related by Dr. Livingstone in his Travels, being the account which he heard from the natives, of the origin of Lake Dilólo. The lake itself is so remarkable, that it will be worth while to quote a few of the particulars reported by Dr. Livingstone, of its physical configuration. It is situate between the 11th and 12th degree of south latitude, and is between seven and eight miles in length, and about three in breadth. It is the watershed between the river-systems that flow to the east and west. The river Lotembwa flows out of it in opposite directions. "We forded," he says, "the southern branch of Lake Dilólo. We found it a mile and a quarter broad, and as it flows into the Lotembwa, the lake would seem to be a drain of the surrounding flats, and to partake of the character of a fountain. Going to the eastward about three miles, we came to the southern Lotembwa itself, running in a valley two miles broad. It is here eighty or ninety yards wide, and contains numerous islands covered with dense sylvan vegetation. In the rainy season the valley is flooded, and as the waters dry up, great multitudes of fish are caught. This happens very extensively over the country, and fishing-weirs are met with everywhere." These facts will be found to have a material bearing on the character of the legend, which I now give in the author's words:—

"When asked the meaning of the name Dilólo, Shakatwala gave the following account of the formation of the lake. A female chief, called Moéna (lord)

Monénga, came one evening to the village of Mosógo, a man who lived in the vicinity, but who had gone to hunt with his dogs. She asked for a supply of food, and Mosógo's wife gave her a sufficient quantity. Proceeding to another village, standing on the spot now occupied by the water, she preferred the same demand, but when she uttered a threat for their niggardliness, was taunted with the question, 'What could she do, though she were thus treated?' In order to show what she could do, she began a song in slow tune, and uttered her own name, Monénga wōō. As she prolonged the last note, the village, people, fowls and dogs, sank into the space now called Dilólo. When Kasimakata, the head man of the village, came home, and found out the catastrophe, he cast himself into the lake, and is supposed to be in it still. The name is derived from Dilólo, *despair*, because this man gave up all hope when his family was destroyed. Monénga was put to death. This may be a faint tradition of the Deluge, and it is remarkable as the only one I have met with in this country."

On this last conjecture I will only observe that it does not seem to me more needed, or more available for the explanation of the South African than of the Ethiopian or the Italian legend. But it deserves to be noted, that although the origin of Lake Dilólo is referred to the agency of a hostile enchantress, I was informed by Dr. Livingstone, in a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with him a short time before his departure on his present expedition, that the lake is decidedly a blessing to the country, which without it would be a barren desert. And even the occasional inundation is, as we have seen, attended

with some substantial advantages. I note this
because it marks the essential difference between
legend and those of Arcadia, which we have just
before us. In them the rising of the waters was a
buted to the wrath of Artemis; but this was bec
it was justly regarded as a sure cause of a public c
mity. As to the signification of the name, Dr. Liv
stone himself considered it as purely conjectural:
I think it must be evident to any one who will loo
the names of the rivers in the circumjacent reg
that the coincidence is quite as likely to have been
cidental; but the meaning of the word may have
something to do with the peculiar form of the lege

The prominent feature which is common to all t
which we have been considering, is a supernatural
sitation, incurred through some transgression: pr
impiety, injustice, or inhumanity. This however
feature which they have in common with a vast n
of mediæval traditions, several of which are colle
in the twelfth volume of Scheible's curious compila
entitled *Das Kloster*. It is true that for the most
they simply relate the disappearance of a city, vill
castle, convent, or church, which once stood where
lake or pool is now seen, without assigning any ca
for the event.[1] But that, in the popular feeling, it
always connected with some moral ground, and was
garded as a judgment, may, where the general probab
is so strong, be pretty safely inferred from the insta
in which such a cause is expressly mentioned. Thu
are informed that near the village of Heiligense
the Havel, is a little lake, from which the village

[1] So in the legend of the Arendsee, Grimm, *D. S.* 111, an
Ochsenberg (*ibid.* 112).

its name. The legend runs, that a castle once stood on the same site, inhabited by a princess who lay under a curse. The castle sank, and the lake rose in its place.

Elsewhere, in East Prussia, in the first struggle between the Wendish Paganism and Christianity, a convent was built by pious monks. But the half-converted natives were instigated by a heathen priest to attack it. The assault was made on a Midsummer's-day, as the convent bell rang for matins, which was the preconcerted signal. The building was set on fire, and the monks massacred; when a fearful tempest arose, accompanied with lightning, which ran along the ground, so as to prevent the escape of the murderers. They sank into the earth, along with the ruins of the convent, and its place was filled by a lake, which, from the fatal signal (*Loosung*), was called the Loossee. And out of its depths the sound of a bell is supposed to be still audible every Midsummer's-day.

A still better sample of this class of legends occurs in a book where one would hardly have looked for it; the Danish poet Andersen's *O. T.* It belongs to the little Danish township of Vissenberg, and is thus reported, I have no doubt quite faithfully, by the author. "Where we now see a reedy pond, once stood a church; but it sank, when profaned by ungodly men; and their sighs and penitential psalms are still heard at midnight."[2] This may remind us, that Kasimakata

[2] Fœrsta Deel, p. 104.—"Hvor vi nu see en Dam med Siv og Rœdder, laae engang en Kirke, men den sank, da Ugudelige, vanhelligede den; endnu hœre vi ved Midnat deres Suk og Pœnitence-Psalmer."

is supposed to be still living in Lake Dilólo. Our own ecclesiastical annals furnish a similar example. When the Bishops Germanus and Lupus came over to combat the Pelagian heresy, they were resisted and reviled by a wealthy man in the neighbourhood of Oswestry. But shortly after, his stately mansion was swallowed up in a pool, which preserved a record of the event in its name.[3] Nork, the author of the twelfth volume in Scheible's Collection, which treats of the "manners and customs of the Germans and their neighbours, with reference to the popular traditions which have sprung out of their ecclesiastical, superstitious and forensic usages," finds the clue to all these legends of preternatural submersions in the custom of offering human sacrifices, at certain critical seasons of the year, such as Midsummer, by the drowning of the victims in lakes or pools. He believes, and certainly not without strong evidence of facts pointing that way, that the custom kept its ground after the introduction of Christianity; and intimates, what I should be loath to admit without clearer proof, that it was sanctioned at least by the passive connivance, if not by the active concurrence, of the clergy. The legends would then have taken their present shape, after the horrible superstition had been completely abolished.

It would be foreign to my purpose to dwell on the offerings, whether of this or any other kind, which have been paid to standing or flowing waters, most probably in every part of the world. The ancient prevalence of the usage in the East is indicated by the sacrifice of white horses with which the Magians

[3] Llynclys. Theophilus Evans, *Drych y prif oesoedd*, p. 144.

sought to propitiate the Strymon at the passage of Xerxes. And, for my own part, I am strongly persuaded that it is to a like propitiatory offering that Achilles alludes in the Twenty-first Iliad (v. 132), where he speaks of the horses which, beside the sacrifice of bulls, the Trojans were used to cast alive into the Scamander. Mr. Gladstone indeed (*Studies on Homer*, iii. p. 158) thinks it possible that the true explanation may be, that the river "carried away, in sudden *spates*, many of the horses that were pastured on its banks."[4] I must own that I am quite unable to reconcile this explanation either with the language of the verse itself, or with the context. I do not understand how the ravages of the river could be described as the act of the Trojans themselves, nor how the loss of their horses, which they suffered on such occasions, could be represented as one of the grounds on which they might hope that the river-god would protect them from the wrath of Achilles. We have already seen, when we were considering the Arcadian legends, that the symbolical character of the horse rendered this animal, even more than the bull,—which we know is similarly significant of the might of rushing streams [5]—an appropriate sacrifice for such a purpose. But to return to the Magians. Their sacrifice of the nine boys and as many girls, whom they buried alive in the Nine Ways (*ἐννέα ὁδοί*), an island formed by the branches of the river, was probably intended for it, no less than for the land. And I am inclined to surmise, that the

[4] οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμὸς εὐρρόος ἀργυροδίνης
ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύσατε ταύρους
ζώους δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

[5] Soph. *Trach.* 11, and the Scholiast.

lock of the hair of Achilles which Peleus vowed to the Spercheius on the event of his son's return from Troy, and which was to be accompanied with a hecatomb, and the sacrifice of fifty rams, at the spring where the river-god had his grove and altar, was, no less than the hair with which the corpse of Patroclus was covered by his comrades, the symbol of a dedication, which at an earlier period was sometimes accomplished in a more real and less innocent manner. It may not be uninteresting to compare the form which this worship took among the aboriginal inhabitants of Spanish America, as it appears in a very curious Spanish work, published for the first time last year at Vienna, from a manuscript found by the editor, Dr. Scherzer, in the library of the University of Guatemala, being a translation of an ancient Chronicle of Guatemala out of the Quiche language into the Castilian, together with some Scholia, or notes (*escolios*) by the translator, Father Ximenez, relating to the social condition of the primitive race.[6] One of these Scholia is headed, "Of the places where they of Guatemala used to sacrifice, as at fountains, rocks, caves, and under trees." There we read, among other things, "Likewise they used to sacrifice under trees of very thick foliage, under which it was their custom to shed blood from various parts of their bodies; like-

[6] *Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala; traducidas de la lengua Quiche al Castellano, para mas comodidad de los ministros del S. Evangelio*, por el R. P. F. Francisco Ximenez, Cura Doctrinero por el real patronato del Pueblo de S. Thomas Chuela. Esactamente segun el Texto Español del Manuscripto original que se halla en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Guatemala, publicado por la primera vez, y aumentado con una Introduccion y Anotaciones por el Dr. C. Scherzer. Viena, 1857.

wise they used to sacrifice at fountains, especially when they were seeking to obtain children, and if they found any very thick-headed tree, that had a fountain under it, they held that place to be divine, because there two deities met, he of the tree and he of the fountain."[7] When we hear that the first cuttings of the child's hair were burnt with incense, we may be reminded partly of the vow of Peleus, and partly of the obsequies of Patroclus. But when it is added, that they used to sacrifice in caves and dark places, and in the meetings of roads, and on the peaks of rocky hills; and farther, that in any great danger or strait, they were used sometimes to vow the sacrifice of a son or a daughter, one cannot but remember the prophet's description: "Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks. Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering. Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set thy bed."

But returning from this little digression, in which however I have not altogether lost sight of my main subject, to the point from which I turned aside, I would observe, that the whole system of what, in the

[7] P. 189. "Si hallaban algun árbol muy espeso, que tuviese debajo alguna fuente, tenian por lugar divino aquel tal, porque concurrian dos divinidades, así en el árbol como en la fuente." So in the *Iliad*, ii. 305, the Greeks at Aulis offered their sacrifices at a fountain which was overshadowed by a beautiful plane-tree:—

ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱεροὺς κατὰ βωμοὺς
ἕρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας
καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἄγλαον ὕδωρ.

largest sense of the word, may be termed water-worship, in all the endless variety of its forms, springs from one root—the universal experience of the value of water. But this root sends out two branches, each of which bears its several fruit, in a distinct set of usages and legends. On the one hand there is the experience of the purifying, strengthening, refreshing, and wholesome properties of water, in its immediate application to the human frame; and on the other hand, the sense of dependence upon it for the fruits of the earth, and the first conditions of private and public well-being. Examples of both may be found, though mixed up together under the one head of water, in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*. To the first division belongs the Heilawag-water, drawn from a spring at certain seasons—now especially at Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer (St. John Baptist's day)—which was supposed to remain fresh all the year round, and to possess wonderful medicinal virtues. Also the numberless Heilbronns and Holywells, some of which were believed to restore not only health but youth to the bathers, and even to re-unite severed limbs to the mutilated body, and to change the sex. The eve of St. John Baptist was, and is to this day at Copenhagen, the season specially appropriated to such ablutions. On that day Petrarch found a great concourse of women at Cologne, bathing in the Rhine, and on inquiry was informed that it was a very ancient usage, and, according to the vulgar belief, a safeguard against all calamity impending for the year to come. Petrarch was not aware that any such custom existed in Italy. But Grimm produces an example from an Italian work of the sixteenth century, where it is related, that

at Naples there was an ancient usage, which even then was not wholly abandoned, for men and women to bathe in the sea on the eve of St. John Baptist, under the persuasion that they were thereby purified from their sins; and he quotes passages from St. Augustine, in which that Father speaks of the very same custom as prevailing in his day in Africa, and condemns it as an unhappy remnant of Pagan superstition. Peculiar efficacy for the like purpose was attributed to water collected from the droppings of mill-wheels.

To the other head must be referred the popular belief, that seasons of plenty or scarcity were foreshown, not only by ebbing springs, but by the rise or fall of water kept in a vessel for that purpose; the horn in the right hand of the Sclavonic god Swantovit, in the isle of Rügen, which was used as an instrument of like predictions; the custom, once prevalent in many parts of Germany, and still subsisting in Servia, and among the modern Greeks, of wrapping up a young maiden in grass, herbs, and flowers, leading her about, and pouring a bucket-full of water over her, while her companions sang a supplication for rain; the singular Esthonian legend of Lake Eim, which removed from a district in which the savage inhabitants neglected agriculture and were given to robbery and bloodshed, and lifting itself with all its fish into the air, came down among an industrious and orderly people, who prized its gifts and made their whole land fruitful. Both elements appear in the legend of Frau Holle, whom we may compare with the Greek Artemis Limnæa, the lady of a small pool or tarn, the Hollenteich, in Mount Meissner, in Hesse. Women seek health and fecundity in her waters, and she herself

goes round the land every year, bestowing fertility on the fields.

But I now turn to another side of the subject, which is that to which I most wish to invite attention. There appears to be sufficient evidence, if indeed any is needed for a fact which might be safely assumed as an inevitable result of the constitution of the human mind, that, independently of the material benefits derived from the aqueous element, its various aspects, whether in springs or rivers, sea or lakes, have made a deep impression on the popular imagination.

Mr. Atkinson, in his Travels in Siberia, visited several sacred lakes; but is quite silent as to any explanation of the sanctity attributed to them, except that which is afforded by their outward aspect. On the Aoush-Kool, he observes (p. 141), "this Holy Lake of the Bashkirs is beautifully situated; . . . on its north-west side rises a conical hill, named Aoushton, or Holy Mount." Of the Baikal itself he can only report (p. 596), "The Baikal, or as the natives call it, the Holy Sea, is said by them to be unfathomable, and subject to terrific storms." In both these cases, the name is the only indication of the feeling it expresses. But of the small and picturesque lake of Skeongoun, in the mountains of Mongolia, he writes: "It is held in great veneration by the Kalkas. They have erected a small wooden temple on the shore, and here they come to sacrifice; offering up milk, butter, and the fat of the animals, which they burn on the little altars. The large rock in the lake is with them a sacred stone, on which some rude figures are traced; and on the bank opposite they place rods with small silk flags, having inscriptions printed on them." The

only legend connected with any of the lakes, which reached his ears, was, that at the small lake Oulounjour Shaitán has his dwelling; and in that instance it is not clear whether the abode of the Evil One is to be referred to the lake (as in the Ethiopian Alobár), or to the caverns on its shore.

On the whole, the poetical barrenness of these lakes exhibits a strong contrast to the wealth of legendary lore, which has been gathered from similar objects among tribes, either gifted with a larger measure of the imaginative faculty, or placed in more favourable conditions than those which have occupied or ranged over the vast tracts of Siberia and Mongolia. The Greeks and Romans, the Teutonic, Scandinavian, Sclavonic, and Celtic races, peopled the depths of their waters with Nereids, Tritons, Naiads, River-gods, Nixes, Elves, Water-sprites, and the like: beings not devoid of human sympathies, but mostly taking an interest in the affairs of men, and, though quick to resent affronts, often connecting themselves with mankind, both by domestic ties and by an interchange of good offices. Their subaqueous abodes are described as beautiful, splendid, abounding in all kinds of good things. Homer paints the glorious mansion of Neptune in the depths of the gulf near Ægæ, as "golden, glittering, ever exempt from decay."[8] And I wish it to be noticed, how the whole description in that passage glistens with gold. The god himself dons a suit of gold.[9] Of gold are the manes of his horses, their reins, and even the fetters with which he secures their

[8] Il. xiii. 21: *ἔνθα τέ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης*
χρύσεα, μαρμαίροντα τετεύχαται, ἄφθιτα αἰεί.

[9] *χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροΐ.*

feet, when he leaves them in the submarine cave to await his return from the Grecian camp. Virgil's conception of a central abyss, the common head of all the rivers of the earth, is no doubt a mere poetical invention. But his description of the shining palace there, in which Aristæus found his mother, Cyrene, enjoying the society of her sister Nymphs, and of the banquet at which he was entertained by them, is the classical expression of a popular belief, which reappears with substantial identity, though in less elegant forms, in numberless legends. Even Frau Hollenteich—though she properly belongs to a different order of ideas—not only regales her favourites with flowers, fruit, cakes, and the produce of her incomparable garden—a paradise at the bottom of her pool—but has her pieces of silver for active and cleanly servants, who find them at the bottom of their pails, if they take them, well rinsed, to draw water betimes in the morning. The prevailing notion of the sublacustrine domains is, that they are full of countless treasures, especially in gold. In one of Grimm's German legends,[10] the water-sprite takes a peasant who lived near his lake, and was on friendly terms with him, down below. There the visitor found all like a magnificent palace on the earth, with rooms full of manifold riches and ornaments: and in one small cabinet many earthen pots standing upside down, within which, as he was informed, were confined the souls of those who had been drowned in the lake. On the Mummelsee, near Baden, a sportsman, as he passed, saw a dwarf sitting on the surface of the water, with his lap full of money, with which he was playing. The sportsman fired at him, and he dived

[10] N. 52. *Der Wassermann und der Bauer.*

under; but was heard to declare that, if he had been requested, he could easily have made the aggressor rich, whereas now he and his descendants were doomed to poverty.[11] A woman is taken by night down into the Dönges lake (in Hesse), to aid the Queen of the Lake in childbirth. She sees many wonderful things, great treasures and riches, but must swear not to say anything of them to any man, and is conducted back again the next night, richly rewarded for her services.[12] It was not, however, generally thought safe to carry away any of these treasures, beyond at least a moderate remuneration for any service rendered to the owners. This is the point of two other legends, in each of which a spiteful Nix offers a heap of gold with a malignant purpose.

The story of the priest Elidor, in Giraldus Cambrensis, illustrates the same feeling. The schoolboy goes down into the water, and finds a beautiful region, abounding in gold, and a king's palace. But when he attempts to carry away the golden ball, which was the plaything of the king's son, it slips from him just as he reaches home, and is taken away by two dwarfs, who jeer him as they depart, and he is never again able to find the way into the happy land. Giraldus also relates of Llyn Safadwy, in Brecknockshire, that it is sometimes seen by the inhabitants covered and adorned with buildings, pastures, gardens, and orchards: and we learn from Sir Richard Hoare, in his annotations on the chapter, that this lake is to be added to the list of those in which ancient cities have been submerged. "The ridiculous idea," he says, "of its having swallowed up an ancient city, is not yet

[11] Grimm, *D. S.* 59. [12] *Ib.*, 65, 69.

quite exploded by the natives." The legend of the Cantref y Gwaelod belongs to the same class, and is more generally known.

Another, which I have not seen in any book, is connected with the town of Carmarthen, and to this day retains its hold on the popular belief. Among the prophecies of Merlin, one which is still in the mouth of the Welsh peasantry is, "Caerfyrddin a sudd, Abergwili a saif" (Carmarthen shall sink, Abergwili shall stand). So familiar is this prediction to the popular mind, that the day on which it is to be fulfilled is generally understood to be a 12th of August: and so deeply rooted is the belief, that not long back, when that day happened to be a market-day at Carmarthen, and a storm of wind and rain came on, many of the country-people hurried out of the town, under the persuasion that the catastrophe was at hand.

This information I have only received orally, though upon very good authority, and I have not been able to ascertain the connection of this prophecy with the history of Merlin; but I have no doubt that the key must be sought in the legend reported by Spenser in the *Faery Queen*, book iii. c. 3. The cave in the heart of the rock there described, from which issued strange noises of iron chains and brazen cauldrons, great groans and grievous sounds, and oftentimes loud strokes and ringing sounds, as of labouring sprites—audible indeed only to persons of very quick ear—is believed in the neighbourhood of Carmarthen to lie in a hill called Merlin's hill, close to the village of Abergwili; and the poet says:—

"The cause some say is this: A little while
Before that Merlin died, he did intend

A brazen wall in compass to compile
About Cayr-Merdin, and did it commend
Unto those sprights to bring to perfect end.
During which work the Lady of the Lake,
Whom long he loved, for him in haste did tend,
Who thereby forced his workmen to forsake,
Them bound, till his return, their labour not to slake,

"In the meantime, through that false lady's train,
He was surprised, and buried under bare,
Ne ever to his work returned again.
Nathless those Fiends may not their work forbear,
So greatly his commandement they fear;
But there do toil and travel day and night,
Until that brazen wall they up do rear."

It must be observed, that, although Merlin is here said to be dead and buried, he is found alive, though underground, by Glaucé and Britomart, to whom he reveals the future history of Britain: and it is well known that some day or other both he and Arthur are to appear again. I suspect that the submersion of Carmarthen is to be regarded as the prelude to this return.

But the most significant and instructive of all such legends are the Irish. The Irish peasant would have no difficulty in believing all that Pausanias relates about the ruins of Sipylus, once visible in the Lake of Tantalus, and Dionysius about the submersion of Old Alba. Has not his own poet sung:—

"On Lough-Neagh's bank, as the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days
In the wave beneath him shining."—*Moore.*

At the bottom of the Lough, near Cork, are buildings and gardens (as at Llyn Safadwy) far more beautiful than any now to be seen. Long before Saxon

foot pressed Irish ground, where the Lough now is, once stood the palace of the great king Corc. In the middle of the courtyard was a spring of fair water, wonderfully pure and clear. As crowds of people came to draw from it, the king began to fear lest it should become dry, and had a high wall built round it, with a door of which he kept the key. One night, at a great banquet which he gave to his lords, he was told that his guests wanted water, and sent his daughter (Fior Usga = Spring-water) to draw from the spring with a golden vessel, which he had caused to be made for the purpose. But the princess, as she stooped over the spring, found the vessel so heavy that she fell in, and the water rose until it filled the whole valley in which the palace stood, and so was formed the present Lough of Cork. Yet the king and his guests were not drowned; nor was the princess: and the feasting and dancing still go on at the bottom of the Lough, and are to do so until some one brings up the golden vessel again.

The words with which Mr. Crofton Croker—from whose *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* I have extracted the pith of the story—concludes his narrative, are so apposite to my purpose, that I must simply transcribe them. "Nobody can doubt that it was a judgment upon the king for his shutting up the well in the courtyard from the poor people; and if there be any who do not credit my story, they may go and see the Lough of Cork, for there it is to be seen at this day: the road to Kinsale passes at one side of it; and, when its waters are low and clear, the tops of towers and stately buildings may be plainly viewed in the bottom by those who have good eyesight, without the help of spectacles."

Nobody will be taken in by the gravity of this assurance: but at least as good eyesight was probably required for those who would see the remains of Old Alba in the days of Dionysius.

Still more remarkable is the legend of Linn-na-Payshtha, which belongs to the lovely Lough Gill near Sligo, though the scene is laid, not exactly in the lake itself, but in a deep pool (Linn-na-Payshtha) in the river which flows out of it. Close by this pool are the remains of the old hall of the O'Rourkes, and at the bottom of the pool is the abode of a sprite, who keeps guard over the gold and silver of the old family buried there in the wars. Manus O'Rourke dives into the pool, and obtains a view of the treasure, the vessels of gold and silver, the sword set with diamonds, and the ivory staff set with rubies and gold, which the chief had been used to hold as he administered the Brehon laws to his clan, together with the title-deeds of the family, which are all carefully guarded against the time when the old stock shall reign in glory again.

In general, according to Irish belief, there is under water a land of perpetual youth, of uninterrupted delight, of perfect happiness.

It seems to me evident that there must be some thread which runs through these legends,—that they rest upon some common basis; and farther, that this basis is not either physical or historical, but ideal: though it may well have happened in some cases, that physical or historical facts were combined and amalgamated with it. A German writer, who has collected largely and speculated much on popular legends, finds in those which relate to the submersion of cities and castles, the trace of a mystical dogma, which he enun-

ciates thus:—"The uprising of the present world of sense was the downgoing of a higher ideal world, and this downgoing, in the symbolical language of antiquity, was a downgoing in water."[13] Now I would not deny that this dogma is of considerable antiquity in oriental philosophy; nor that it may have been at an early period clothed in a fabulous form; nor that the fable might have travelled from east to west, leaving behind it the thought from which it was originally intended to illustrate. But I am not even satisfied that there is any warrant for the assumption on which this explanation rests,—that the system to which the dogma belongs was really prior to the great mass of the legends which are supposed to have sprung from it. I must also consider it as a very unsatisfactory incident of this hypothesis, that according to it there would be no connection between the legend and any train of thought which was familiar to the popular mind, and to which it might unconsciously have given this kind of utterance. And I think it must be admitted, that we should have a somewhat firmer ground to rest upon, if we could find such a train of thought, especially if it was universally blended with a deep current of strong feeling, for which the legends in question furnish an apt and natural expression. It should be one which does not belong to one land or clime or people more than to another; though there may be historical circumstances which tend to call it forth, and to set it at work more powerfully in

[13] Daumer, *Philosophie, Religion, und Alterthum*, 1 Heft. p. 47. "Die Entstehung dieser Sinnenwelt war der Untergang einer idealen höhern, welcher Untergang der Symbolik des Alterthums ein Untergang im Wasser war."

one period than another. And such I conceive to be the idea—whether derived from tradition, or the projection of an inward consciousness—of a good old time, a better order of things, a golden age, which has disappeared from the face of the earth, yet not so as to leave no hope of its return. It still exists, but out of sight, beneath the water. There lies the happy land, the realm of youth, beauty, and joy; there dwells the golden race (*gens aurea*); there are preserved the treasures and glories of the past. If it be asked, What was the cause of the disappearance? the answer is everywhere the same in substance, though varying in form. It was the penalty of an offence which provoked the Divine wrath. It was impious arrogance, or profanation of sacred things, or wrongful dealing, or hard-hearted selfishness. Still that which has vanished is only hidden, not lost. Even now occasional glimpses of it are vouchsafed to some favoured mortals: and sooner or later it shall be brought to light again. There is yet a good time coming; when is it to be? When might shall cease to trample upon right, and men shall learn to love one another as children of a Father in heaven. Then heroes and sages shall again find a home upon earth. Arthur and Merlin shall be released from their dark prison. Even in Lake Despair Monénga's spell shall be broken, and Kasimakata shall come forth, to find a renovated land, purged from the curse of slavery and war, of tyranny and superstition; an open field of beneficent enterprise, of secure and friendly intercourse, enriched by the arts of peace, transfigured in the light of a pure religion, the abode of a free, civilized, industrious, and happy people.

[Another example of legendary submersion, which

only fell in my way after the reading of this Paper, occurs in Sir W. H. Sleeman's *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, vol. i. p. 126.

"The Rajah of Bulrampoor and Ramdut Pandee, the banker, rode with me, and related the popular tradition regarding the head of the Kulhuns family of Rajpoots, Achul Sing, who about a century and a quarter ago reigned over the district intervening between Gonda and Wuzeer Gunge, and resided at his capital of Koorassa. The Rajah had a dispute with one of his landholders, whom he could not get into his power. He requested Rutun Pandee, the banker, to mediate a reconciliation, and invite the landholder to an amicable adjustment of accounts, on a pledge of personal security. The banker consented, but made the Rajah swear by the *River Sarjoo*, which flowed near the town, that he should be received with courtesy and escorted back safely. The landholder relied on the banker's pledge, and came; but the Rajah no sooner got him into his power, than he caused him to be put to death. The banker could not consent to live under the dishonour of a violated pledge; and abstaining from food, died in twenty-one days, invoking the vengeance of the *River Sarjoo* on the head of the perfidious prince. In his last hours the banker was visited by one of the Rajah's wives, who was then pregnant, and implored him to desist from his purpose in mercy to the child in her womb; but she was told by the dying man, that he could not consent to survive the dishonour brought upon him by her perjured husband; and that she had better quit the place and save herself and child, since the incensed *River Sarjoo* would certainly not spare any one who remained with

the Rajah. She did so. The banker died, and his death was followed by a sudden rise of the river and tempest. *The town was submerged, and the Rajah, with all who remained with him, perished. The ruins of the old town are said to be occasionally visible, though at a great depth under the water in the old bed of the Sarjoo, which forms a fine lake, near the present village of Koorassa, midway between Gonda and Wuzeer Gunge.*"

I must yet add another legend, as reported by Mr. Carlyle in his *History of Frederick the Great*, i. p. 101. He is speaking of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. "German Tradition thinks he is not yet dead, but only sleeping, till the bad world reach its worst, when he will re-appear. He sits within the hill near Salzburg yonder—says German Tradition, its fancy kindled by the strange noises in that hill (Limestone Hill) *from hidden waters*, and by the grand rocky look of the place:—A peasant once, stumbling into the interior, saw the Kaiser in his stone cavern: Kaiser sat at a marble table, leaning on his elbow, winking, only half-asleep: beard had grown through the table, and streamed out on the floor; he looked at the peasant one moment, asked him something about the time it was, then drooped his eyelids again. Not yet time, but will be soon! He is winking as if to awake. To awake, and set his shield aloft by the Roncalic Fields again, with: 'Ho, every one that is suffering wrong; or that has strayed guideless, devilward, and done wrong, which is far fataler.'"]

XI.—THE RELATION OF THE LOMBARDS TO THE ANGLES.

BY R. G. LATHAM, M.D., ETC.

(Read July 6th, 1859.)

More than one author can be shown to have recognized in the Lombard institutions decided resemblances to those of the English. Statements to this effect are to be found in Kemble's valuable work upon the Saxons in England, and elsewhere. The custom of the *morgengabe*, common to the Lombard Italy and English Britain, has more than once been noticed.

Again, Lappenberg (for one) has claimed for the Lombards a participation in the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England. He claims it for the Franks as well. Whether his reason that "elsewhere, in similar undertakings, we find Saxons united with Franks and "Langobards" be a sufficient, is another question.

The names of these two authors serve as a preliminary to the present investigation. The opinions which they carry with them foreshadow the nature of the question about to be raised, viz. the Relation of the Lombards to the Angles—the relation of the Lombards to the Angles, political as well as ethnological, ethnological as well as political.

It is clear that the two names suggest different,

though allied, problems. Kemble's remarks go to the effect that the connection between the conquerors of Lombardy and the conquerors of Britain, was one of blood rather than political union. He finds certain customs common to the two: just as certain customs are common to the United States of America and Australia, where the political relation is slight and in direct, the blood relation strong. Lappenberg's view on the other hand, implies nothing in the way of consanguinity—though, of course, it is not incompatible with any amount of it. It merely says that certain Lombards may have descended upon the coasts of Britain. They need not, necessarily, have done this in conjunction with any Angles at all. They need not, even as members of an Angle confederation, have been Angle in their ethnological relations.

Lappenberg's suggestion will scarcely enter into our present inquiry; for, though the details of the history of the English in Britain are of great interest and not without importance, and although, notwithstanding a considerable amount of agreement in the current statements concerning it, they are, by no means, so clear as to make criticism superfluous,—it is the dark and almost mysterious question as to the history of the Angles and the allied populations in Germany, upon which the present researches are meant to bear. The history of the English before they came to England has still to be written. That the history of the Lombards is a contribution towards it is the belief of the present inquirer.

The doctrine to which he commits himself is this, that the Lombards who invaded Italy under Audouin were, either at the time of the invasion or a little be-

fore, if not actual Angles, the most Angliform of the non-Angle Germans—a doctrine which may have easily been shown to be, whether old or new, bold or commonplace, pre-eminently a *qualified* doctrine. It by no means follows, that because the Lombards under Auduin were Angle, or Angliform, that the Lombards under Desiderius were the same. There may have been other Germans who participated in the invasion of Italy, and to these Germans the Lombards may have become assimilated. Neither does it follow, that because these same were Angliform in the sixth century, they were so in the third or second. They may, at some period anterior to their descent upon Hungary, and during their occupancy of the banks of the Elbe, have been other than Angle,—other, indeed, than German,—though subsequently Germanized or Anglicized. That this view is anything but gratuitous, will be seen in the sequel. It will be seen in the sequel that, if we take the notices concerning them in their full integrity, it is neither more nor less than a necessity. It will be seen too in the sequel, that there is a reason for saying *Angliform* rather than *Angle*.

Such is the general view of the doctrine. The evidence upon which it is to rest now requires notice. It must, perforce, be slight. It must, perforce, consist of but few facts, and those facts small ones. It must be geological rather than historical. It must be, to use a long and not a very common word, essentially palæontological. It must also be what the logician would call cumulative, *i. e.* it must consist in the mutual illustration of small facts, any two of which, when combined, are more than twice as strong as each taken singly.

But before this kind of evidence can be admitted, it must be shown that the proper historical evidence is insufficient; in other words, the question must be shown to be beyond the field of history before it can be brought into that of inference. To argue after the fashion of a geologist, upon the history of a mound of which the parish register gives an account, would be as illegitimate, and absurd, as to seek in a local history the birth of an ammonite, or the first appearance of a boulder.

What is the value of Paulus Diaconus as an authority for the history of the *Pagan* Langobards? In a general way we may say, perhaps, that it is as good as that of Jornandes for that of the Goths. It is certainly not better than that of Beda for the very early Angles. To see this, let us compare the two dates, the date of the historian and the date of the earliest affairs of which he is the narrator.

Warnefrid, who, as Deacon of Friuli, is known also under the name of Paulus Diaconus, died A.D. 799. The conquest of Italy by Alboin is dated A.D. 567. The interval, then, is 200 years, a longer period than that which intervened between the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and the introduction of Christianity under Ethelbert, King of Kent. Those who take the current accounts of Hengist, Horsa, Ida, Ella, and others, as so much real history, will attach but little importance to this lapse of time. Those, on the other hand, who, with Kemble, Lappenberg, and other not unduly sceptical authorities, fail to find in the early accounts of Pagan Kent, and Pagan Wessex, and Pagan Northumberland, anything which can be mistaken for testimony, will see, in the first third of

it, at least, a period of unlettered darkness, and unrecording ignorance. At any rate, there is a long interval, and an unlettered Paganism at its commencement.

Say that in the year A.D. 560,—seven years before the invasion of Italy,—the Lombards, along with the Avars and Gepidæ, were resident in Pannonia:—who were the men to record their actions? Native *literati* they had none. How could they have? They had no letters. The doctrine that they had songs which delivered a kind of imperfect history, will be noticed in the sequel. At present we are asking what were the records for a Pannonian barbarian in the latter half of the sixth century. I have no hesitation in saying that, except so far as they were either Latin or Greek, they were non-existent. But what was the condition in Constantinople and Rome? In relation to acts of Lombards and Gepidæ in Pannonia, much what the evidence of the Romans of Lutetia would have been to those of the Angles in Britain.

I do not however find it necessary to go far into the criticism of the materials for the history of the Lombards during their occupancy of Pannonia and Illyricum, inasmuch as there is nothing said concerning them, in any of the notices of the sixth century, which is incompatible with an Angle origin. For all that occurs in the notices of the reigns of Audouin and Alboin, their Lombard subjects may have been as English as the subjects of Athelstan or Alfred. At the same time, they may just as easily have been Bavarian, Goth, Burgundian, or aught else.

It is only when we come to the pre-historic period, to the details of their origin and migrations, that the text of the chief authority opposes the present doc-

trine—the chief authority being the writer so lately mentioned, Paul Warnefrid, or Paul the Deacon. Now just as the Lombards are known to the student through Paul Warnefrid, Paul Warnefrid is known to the general reader through Gibbon, in whose account the romantic portion of the history of Audouin and Alboin stands prominent. And equally prominent stand the pre-historic details of their history. With all his scepticism, Gibbon put the antiquarian or ethnological narrative of Warnefrid respecting the Lombards, on the same level as that of a similar historian, Jornandes, concerning the Goths—putting both too high. He puts, also, too high a value upon the vague opinions then in fashion respecting the Northern Hive, the *officina gentium*, and such other things equally metaphorical, by which learned Germans and patriotic Scandinavians have expressed their high and patriotic sense of the importance of their supposed ancestors on either side of the Baltic. He put, too, the *carmina antiqua* — whether of Tacitus or Eginhard—at more than their worth as historical records. What they were in reality no one knows. We know, however, something of their congeners, the fragmentary pieces of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Skaldic fragments, the fuller poems of the elder Edda, the long poem Beowulf. We know what these are, and we know that they are of very little historical value, and, in many cases, of very moderate antiquity. The contemporaries however of Gibbon had every reason for putting them at a higher value than the investigators of the present time allow them; though with many of these they stand high

The work, then, of Warnefrid gains by being seen

through the medium of Gibbon. In its own proper form it begins with a piece of speculation upon the effect of climate, embodied in the statement that the north, from its wholesome cold, is better fitted for the propagation of nations than the south. No wonder, then, that so many come from the Arctic axis. Nor is it unfit to call the country from the West to the Tanais by the general name of Germania, although different districts bear different names. From this Germania have hosts and hosts of conquerors proceeded, some to ravage Asia, more to vex Europe. Bear witness to this the ruined cities of Illyricum and Gaul. Bear witness too the terrible names of *Vandal*, *Rugian*, *Herulian*, and *Turciling*—all names from Germany.

In like manner did the nation of the Vinili, *i. e.* Langobards, derive their origin from Germany. They came from an island named Scandinavia, an island mentioned by Plinius in his books *De Natura Rerum*. This, as those who have traversed it tell me, is not so much an island as a country washed by the sea. The population waxed fast upon it—so fast that the land would not hold it, and it became necessary to divide it into three divisions, and to cast lots which of the three should leave the land and seek a home elsewhere. The lot fell upon the part over which Ibor and Ayo, sons of a wise mother named Gambara, were captains.

Whilst writing about Germany, I will relate a miracle. In a cave in the northern part of the country, by the seaside, seven men fell asleep. A long time afterwards they awoke, and their clothes were all as fresh as ever. A man who would lay hands on them had his arm withered.

The Scritobini live near Germany. They dress in

skins, and are named from a kind of skate upon which they pass over the snow and hunt beasts. The sun is seen at midnight in the country of these Scritobini.

On the west of the same is a vast whirlpool, of which we may well say,—

"Dextrum Scylla, latus," etc.

Then follows an episode on whirlpools, followed by a continuation of the story of Ibor and Ayo, under whom the Vinili leave Scandinavia and march into a region called Scoringa. Near Scoringa reigned Ambri and Assi, chiefs of the Vandals. Ambri and Assi were famous warriors, who had conquered the country roundabout. So they sent a message to Ibor and Ayo demanding tribute. Ibor and Ayo consult their mother Gambara, and send back word to Ambri and Assi that, though few in number, they will sooner fight than pay.

Then follows a tale which our Deacon laughs at and relates. The Vandals pray to Wodan for victory, who answers that he intends to give it to the army which first should meet his eyes on the morrow morning. Meanwhile Gambara, on behalf of the Vinili, makes a similar prayer to Frea, the wife of Vodan. Frea's advice is this: "Let the women of the Vinili undo their "hair, and bring it under their chins so that it shall look "like a beard. Then let them get up, the first thing in "the morning, and place themselves in sight of Vodan, "who will look out of his window towards the east "when the sun is rising." So said, so done. Vodan looked out of the window, and cried, "Who are these Longbeards?" To which Frea replied, "The people to whom you have given a name, and who are, therefore, to win today's battle." So runs the tale, which is ridiculous, inasmuch as Victory is not given to the

power of men, but is granted from Heaven. It is only certain that the Vinili took the name of Lombards from the length of their beards; for, in their language, *lang* means *long*, and *bart* means *barba*. *Wodan*, who with the addition of a letter is *Gwodan*, is the same as the Roman Mercury. He is worshiped by all the nations of Germany as a god. He did not, however, live at the time of Ibor and Ayo, but long before. Besides, they came from Greece, not Germany.

The Winili, then, who are also the Lombards, won the battle, and remained in Scoringa until a famine forced them to leave it.

They left it to go towards Mauringa, when the Assipitti, in greater numbers, opposed them. In danger of being worsted, they invented the tale of the Dog-heads. They said that they had amongst them men with dogs' heads (*cynocephalos, id est, canini capitis homines*) who lived on human blood. This frightened the Assipitti.

The Assipitti, however, had a great champion, who challenged the best man of the Langobardi. A slave accepted the challenge and conquered. So he took his freedom, and the army passed to Mauringa.

In Mauringa they strengthened their numbers by giving freedom to a number of slaves, whom they emancipated by means of an arrow and certain formular words; "*more solito, per sagittam, immurmurantes nihi-*" *lominus, ob rei firmitatem, quædam patria verba.*"

From Mauringa to Golanda, where they sojourned a little while.

From Golanda to Anthaib, Banthaib, and Vurgonhaib—" *quæ nos arbitrari possumus esse vocabula pagorum, seu quorumcunque locorum.*"

When Ibor and Ayo died, they no longer chose to be ruled by captains (*duces*), but, like other nations, took to themselves a king—Agelmund, the son of Ayo, of the noble line of the Gunings, who, according to the tradition of the elders, ruled thirty-three years.

"At this time" (I am now translating literally) "a "certain harlot gave birth to seven little boys at once, "but, more savage than the beasts of the field, threw "them into a pond to die. Should any one think this "impossible, he has only to read the histories of the "ancients, where he will find that not only have seven "infants been born at a birth, but even nine. It is "in Ægypt where this happens the oftenest. So it "chanced that King Agelmund, as he was journeying, "came to the pond, and having stayed his horse, saw "the seven poor little infants at the bottom of it. And "when he stirred them up with his spear, one of them "took hold of it. The king wondered at this, thought "deeply about it, and prophesied that the child would "become a great man. So he lifted him out, and gave "him to a nurse, and had him reared. He gave him, "also, the name of Lamissio, because, in his language, "*lama* means a fishpond. When the child grew up, he "became the strongest warrior of the realm, and, after "the death of Agelmund, held the reins of power. It "is reported that when the Lombards were on their "march, they reached the bank of a river, which the "Amazons forbade them to pass. Lamissio, how-"ever, swam against the strongest of them, killed "her, crossed the river, and gained great glory for the "Longobards. For it had been settled beforehand "that if the Amazons won, the Longobards were to go "back, whereas if she was beaten, they were to pass

" onwards. It is clear, however, that this is untrue: " because every one who has read the histories of the " ancients is aware that long before the time of these " things, the whole nation of the Amazons was de- " stroyed; unless, indeed, we believe that, considering " the ignorance of the historians in respect to the place " where these deeds were done, we may suppose that " some of the race survived even to the times under " notice. Indeed, I have heard it said by some that " even now there are to be found, in the innermost " parts of Germany, a nation of women."

They pass, then, the river, and come to a land where ease engenders sloth, and where, having neglected to set a guard, they are attacked by the Bulgarians, who kill Agelmund, and lead his daughter captive.

Lamissio leads them to revenge. The Bulgarians, however, are the conquerors, and the Longobards turn their backs. Lamissio first makes a speech; then frees a number of slaves. The Bulgarians are beaten.

Lamissio dies and Lethu succeeds. He reigns forty years, and is succeeded by his son Hildehoc, who is succeeded by Gudehoc.

The analysis of this narrative gives us a measure of Warnefrid's archæology, which is simply that of his age and country. His geography is lax. Pliny was, perhaps, his best authority. Tacitus he seems *not* to have read: though from the prominence given to the smallness of the Lombard host, a faint echo of the "*Langobardos paucitas nobilitat*" may have reached him. The Scandinavian hypothesis (as we may, perhaps, call it) closely resembles, both in details and style, that of Jornandes, who has his "*Scanzia insula*," mentioned by "*Ptolemy*," his midnight sun, and his

Crefennæ—the analogues of the Scritobini; these being the Scrithifenni of Pliny. These are the Laps (called by the Norwegians Fins), who, even now, are the most skilful runners on the *skide* (pronounce *shee*) or snow-skate. The story of the Seven Sleepers we should have thought had been known to our author in a more authentic form. He gives it, however, to Germany; and, so doing, lets us measure his ignorance of even ecclesiastical legends. The whirlpool is, probably, the Maelström. Wodan is the English Woden. The fact however of a German, like Warnefrid, deriving him from Greece, is a remarkable instance of the extent to which the rationalizing habits of the logograph had replaced the simple superstition of the Pagan. The notice of the Amazons is curious. We find it, with an enormous accumulation of details, in Jornandes. We find a *land of Amazons* in more than one writer upon Germany. The origin of this has long been before the world. The classical accounts may have something to do with it. The better explanation, however, is to be found in the text of Tacitus, illustrated by a gloss from the languages of Sweden and Finland as spoken at the present time.

Tacitus, in his notices of the population of the extreme North, writes:—"Suionibus Sitonum gentes "continuantur. Cætera similes uno differunt quod "*fœmina* dominatur. In tantum non modo à liber-"tate, sed etiam à servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviæ "finis." (*German.* 45.) Now the inhabitants of that part of the Duchy of Finland, a district to which the text of Tacitus may reasonably be supposed to apply, and which lies along the northern half of the Gulf of Bothnia, call themselves *Kainu-laiset*. The two last

syllables of which name are inflectional, the root being *Kain*. In the mouth of the Swedes and Norwegians this becomes *Qvæn*. Nor is the name new. The Anglo-Saxons, in all probability having taken the names from the Scandinavians, wrote *Cwænas*, and *Cwænaland*,—both words being found in Alfred. Now, with our own words *queen* and *quean*, and with the Swedish *quinna*, meaning *woman*, such informants of Tacitus, as using the German language, might speak of the Sitonian (or Qvæn) country as a *Queenland*, may easily have been supposed to have spoken of a country *governed by a Queen*, a country in which *fœmina dominatur*. Hence, the statement in the text of the Germania. I cannot say to whose well-exercised ingenuity this explanation of an otherwise mysterious passage is due. I can only say that it has every appearance of being the true one. The error which has hitherto been supposed to be only possible or probable, actually occurs in Adam of Bremen, who writes: "Gothi habi-" tant usque ad Bircam, postea longis terrarum spatiis " regnant Sveones usque ad *terram fœminarum*" (i. e. *Cwænland*). Again, "Et hæc quidem insula *terræ* " *fœminarum* proxima narratur."

All this, however, carries no further than a *Land of Queans*. We have yet to see our way to the blunder that gives us a *Land of Amazons*. The author just quoted supplies it. "Circa hæc litora—ferunt esse " *Amazonas*, quod nunc *terra fœminarum* dicitur, quas " aquæ gustu aliqui dicunt concipere. . . . Hæ, simul " viventes, spernunt consortia virorum, quos etiam, si " advenerint, a se viriliter repellunt."

I have used the term *Scandinavian Hypothesis*, in speaking of the passages wherein the Lombards are de-

duced from Scandinavia. It is a term which, doubtless, savours of the nineteenth century, its systems, and its scientific nomenclature. I think, however, that it is justifiable. In his way, Warnefrid was as much of an ethnologist as the present writer. He had his speculations, such as they were, and his book-learning, such as it was. This latter made him acquainted with Jornandes, in whose hands Scandinavia, as the *officina gentium*, took great prominence; and in whose pages we may not only find what we have called the Scandinavian hypothesis, but arrive at a plausible account of its origin. Jornandes, an Ostrogoth by birth, and Bishop of Ravenna, about A.D. 530, writes a work *De Rebus Geticis,—things Getic* means *things Gothic*. Like Warnefrid, he alludes to the ancient poems of his nation, poems to which the term *priscus* applies, poems which give *in an almost historical manner* (*historico pene ritu*) its antiquities. Besides which, he quotes Ablavius, *an accurate describer of the nation of the Goths, and the author of a very true history*. Josephus, too, he mentions; only, however, to wonder at his silence concerning the Goths. Now writers upon the *origines* of a German population who refer to Josephus, are more or less men of learning and speculation; and of such was Jornandes.

Meanwhile, at the court of Theodoric lived a Scandinavian ex-king, whom Jornandes calls Rodulf, but who was, probably, in his native Norse, Rolf, and who exercised dominion over the Grannii, Aganziæ, Unixæ, Ethebrugi, and Arochiranni, but who, "*contempto proprio regno, ad Theodorici, Gothorum regis, gremium convolavit, et ut desideravit, invenit.*" Now what more likely than for this Rodulf to have been the man who told

the *Ostrogoths* of Italy that there were, also, *Ostrogoths* in Scandinavia. He might also have told them that there were *Westrogoths* as well, as well as *east* and *west Gothland*, and an island of that name as well. Be this as it may—some one informed Jornandes that there were in Scanzia, "*Ostrogothæ*, Raumaricæ, Raugnaricæ," etc.,—a fact, out of which, the Scandinavian origin of the Goths of Italy would, almost spontaneously, develope itself, in the mind of writers like Jornandes. With this hypothesis, I hold that his book was written; and I also hold that Warnefrid, a later writer on a cognate subject, was familiar with his work, and also that he adopted his view. At any rate, something which may not inconveniently be called the Scandinavian Hypothesis, was afloat during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. I do not say that it was held *eo nomine*, or that its advocates were conscious of its advocacy. I imagine it was something to which they gave an otiose and uncritical belief; much in the same way that the writers of the present time give an otiose and uncritical belief to the Fin Hypothesis, and to the Eastern origin of the (so-called) Indo-European populations, to the Pelasgic migrations, and the like.

Such, then, is a rough sketch of the reasons for believing that the evidence of Warnefrid to the early ethnology of the Langobards is any but so conclusive; reasons which must be laid before the reader before he is asked to set aside what he has been in the habit of treating as history, and to give up testimony for inference.

Paul Warnefrid, Deacon of Friuli, whether learned or unlearned, wrote long after the time of which

he treats, wrote without means of knowing what he wrote about, and wrote (either consciously or unconsciously) under a hypothesis. For the times near his own he is valuable. It is for the times of the Longobards during their occupancy of Pannonia, the Langobards of a field far beyond the vision of any one of the ninth century, the Langobards of a Pagan and an unlettered age, that his authority is proclaimed exceptionable.

The value of Warnefrid as an authority is one of our preliminaries. Another connects itself with the name.

In the first place *Langobard*, although, for most purposes, a *proper* name, is in reality a *common* one—a word like *Flathead* in America, or *Highlander* in English. Each of these names is not only capable of being applied to more populations than one, but is actually applied. There may be Highlanders wherever there are Highlands. They may be Flatheads wherever the practice of depressing the frontal bones prevails. And this is what we find. There are Highlanders out of Scotland; and there are Flatheads in more parts of America than one. In like manner, wherever there is a *March* there may be *Marchmen*, or *Marcomanni;* and, in many Marches, the name is absolutely to be found. No matter then what *bard* means. Whether it signify a *beard*, or whether it signify a *halbert*, it is transparently clear that wherever either *beards* or *halberds* are remarkable for their length, the name Langobard (provided, of course, that there be in the vicinity a population in whose language the terms are significant) is possible.

The same name, then, may apply to different populations, and *vice versâ*.

Different names (not to say different modifications of the same name) may apply to the same population.

Some one certainly called the Lombards *Langobards*. That some one else, however, may have named them differently, is evident.

Again, the name is compound. Hence, it has two parts, even as a knife has two parts—its blade and its handle. What, however, if the blade take a new handle, and then, after a while, the original handle take a new blade? We all know that this is an old illustration. It is useful nevertheless. Now, in the 'Traveller's Song:'

"Sceaf rule the *Longbeards*" (line 64).

A few lines further, however, we hear of—

"The glory of the *Heaþo-beards*" (line 98).

And, later still, of—

"The Hrons
And the *Heaþo-reams*."

The name, then, has undergone examination—as far, at least, as its form goes. And it may now be asked what it gives us. Simply the fact (according to the correct interpretation, and that open to an exception—though not material to the main question—which will be noticed before we conclude) of a German gloss, current in such parts of Germany from which it might find its way to Rome. What it meant is doubtful—but, fortunately, not very important. Something with something *long* was intended, and whether that were *beards* or *halberds* is of slight consequence.

The form of the name is one thing. This is, necessarily, German. Its origin and nativity is another. This is, by no means, necessarily German. The evi-

dence that it was a native, or even a German name at all, in its origin, is *nil.* The men whom their neighbours called Langobards may have called themselves by some other denomination, just as the men whom we, in England, call Germans, call themselves *Deutsche.* Instances, illustrative of this difference, may be multiplied to any necessary extent. The name Longobard, then, may or may not have been native. The Scotch *Highlanders* are just the men in whose language both the term *land* and the term *high* are impossible.

These two preliminaries being disposed of, the reasoning runs thus :—with one exception, all the facts known concerning the Longobards, where they have any ethnological bearing at all, are in favour of the conquerors of Italy having, at one period of their history, been closely allied to the conquerors of England. Why, then, is the affinity doubted? Because the one single exceptional fact is so important as to outweigh all the others. But what if its importance be overvalued? Or what if its relevancy be impugned? What, in short, if the exception itself be exceptionable, apparent rather than real? In such a case, the ordinary presumptions must take their course. They may be very decided, or extremely slight. They may be of an intermediate character. This depends on the special facts of the case. It is only certain that whether slight or decided, they are unopposed. Little as they may weigh, or there is nothing in the opposite scale.

This state of things is, by no means, uncommon in ethnological criticism. There are many cases where a series of small facts, all pointing one way, are neutralized by some single fact with which they are irreconcilable. Shake this, and a new doctrine follows as a

matter of course. Remove an artificial dam, and the pent-up waters of their own accord find their level.

It is all but needless to say that the exception alluded to is the *High* German character of the glosses of the Lombard Laws, combined with the *Low* German character, in the way of language, of everything Angle. This is the opinion of Grimm, the opinion of others second only to Grimm in authority. It is manifest that, if this view be true, the Lombards must belong to the same class as the Bavarians and Alemanni;—a class, or subclass, from which the Angles and their more immediate congeners are eliminated. To combat this opinion, in the sense in which it is delivered by the author, would be hopeless. Equally hopeless the attempt to make the Angles High German. In neither of these alternatives does the exception lie. The exception lies against the Longobard character of the laws themselves. Was the language of the men who perpetuated the name Lombard, the language of those who first bore, and originally introduced it? Was the dynasty of law-givers the dynasty of the first invaders? That the former were High German is pretty certain. In respect to the latter there is no such certainty. On the contrary, there is very decided evidence to a change, the details of which now come under notice.

The name of the first king of the Lombards is *Audouin*. Word for word, this is the Anglo-Saxon *Eadwine*, the English *Edwin*. In other words Audouin is an English name.

The name of the second king of the Lombards, the son and successor of *Audouin*, or *Eadwine*, is *Alboin*, or Ælfwine, another English name.

That this is not guesswork may be seen from the

following extract from the well-known Anglo-Saxon poem called The Traveller's Song:—

"Swylce ic wæs on Eatule,
Mid Ælfwine,
Se hæfde mon-cynnes,
Mine gefræge,
Leohteste hand
Lófes t wyrcenne;
Heortan un-hneáweste,
Hringa ge-dales,
Beorhtra beaga,
Bearn Eadwines" (lines 139–148).

In English (Thorpe's translation).

"Also I was in Italy
With Ælfwine,
Who had, of all mankind,
To my knowledge,
The lightest hand,
Praise to effect;
The amplest heart
In the distribution of rings,
Of bright bracelets,
The child of Eadwine" (lines 139–148).

The name of the third king of the Lombards is Clepho. Word for word, this seems to be the Anglo-Saxon Clapa; a name not royal, but, by no means, uncommon. More than once Clapa has been treated as the founder of *Clapham*, *i.e.* the man who made it his own. Be this as it may, the name is pre-eminently Anglo-Saxon.

Autharis may or may not be *Edgar*, word for word. I do not, however, press the identity. It is enough to state that Autharis is the son of Clepho; just as an Edgar in England might have been the son of a Clapa; and in the reign of Autharis a great change sets in.

Clepho succeeded Alboin, being elected at Pavia; but before he has reigned a year and a half, Clepho is murdered, Autharis being a minor. Italy now suffers from the misrule of a regency, is divided, and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.

The date of Clepho's death is A.D. 573. I give this as I find it in Gibbon. I also note this, he quotes no authority earlier than Warnefrid. For these times, however, Warnefrid is, at best, but a moderate authority. He is much better than he was for the absolutely prehistoric period, inasmuch as there is a dawning of native literature. Nevertheless, he is anything but conclusive. The reign of Autharis is earlier than any Lombard coin, any Lombard inscription, any Lombard Law. That it is not earlier than the germs of an imperfect Christianity and its concomitant literature is true. Still, the age is of the darkest; so dark that great changes may take place without being either recorded or transmitted, in their integrity, to posterity. Of the details, then, of the reign of Autharis, we know but little. The little, however, that we do know, is more in favour of our doctrine than against it.

"If you are incapable of delivering us from the "swords of the Lombards, save us, at least, from the "calamity of famine." This is the language that reached Tiberius, then on the throne of Constantinople, from Rome. He sends some corn. Meanwhile the Lombards press forwards. They are repulsed from Rome—but only for awhile. Tiberius is again invoked. "Either bribe them off, or call in the king of "the Franks," is his advice. King Childebert, the grandson of Clovis, is called in—the first Merovingian who descended the Alps. Autharis resists him; for

the first time successfully; for the second time successfully; for the third time with partial success. Autharis retires. But he afterwards rallies. "At the "foot of the Rhætian Alps he subdued the resistance, "and rifled the hidden treasures of a sequestered island "in the Lake of Como. At the extreme point of "Calabria he touched with his spear a column on the "seashore of Rhegium, proclaiming that ancient land-"mark to stand the immovable boundary of his king-"dom" (Gibbon, ch. 45).

I follow Gibbon, taking his facts in his words. This puts it out of my power to adapt my statements to my hypothesis. Two portions of his narrative demand attention. After asking how it was that the language which the Lombards brought with them, failed to take the prominence in Italy which the Anglo-Saxon took in Britain, he writes:—"A numerous army constitutes "but a small nation, and the powers of the Lombards "were soon diminished by the retreat of 20,000 Saxons, "who scorned a dependent situation, and returned, "after many bold and perilous adventures, to their na-"tive country."

Who are these Saxons? In my mind they are less the allies of the Lombards than the actual Lombards themselves—the *English* Lombards, so to say. Let us call their retreat the Saxon Secession, and proceed to the change of dynasty.

Audouin and Alboin are father and son, the names being English. Clepho and Autharis are also father and son, the names being Angliform, *i. e.* probably English. Clepho has every appearance of having belonged to the same division of the Lombard invaders (supposing the invading army to have consisted of heterogeneous ele-

ments) with Alboin. This gives us the four kings of the Angliform line. But it ends with Autharis, who marries Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibaldi, the king of Bavaria. A year after his marriage he dies—"but the virtues of Theudelinda had endeared her to "the nation, and she was permitted to bestow, with "her hand, the sceptre of the Italian kingdom" (Gibbon, ch. 45). The king who thus gains the crown of Lombardy is Rother, succeeded by Grimoald, succeeded by Luitprand, succeeded by Rachis, succeeded by Aistulf, all bearing names other than either Angle or Angliform. No wonder—the line had changed. But with this change comes the only fact which favours the notion that the Longobards were High German, viz. the High German character of the glosses on the Lombards Laws. But there are no Lombards Laws at all until the reign of Rother, *i. e.* until after the Saxon Secession, and until after the change of dynasty.

I submit, then, that the necessity engendered by the glosses of the Lombard Laws to connect the Longobards with the Bavarians and Alemanni, is reconcilable with the necessity created by the other elements of their history, for making them Angle or Angliform. The change of dynasty (not hypothetical but historical) and the Saxon Secession (also historical) are surely sufficient for this.

I now notice what may be called the original facts of the case—the facts connected with the unequivocal Lombards—or the Lombards of the first dynasty.

Upon the points wherein the Lombard Laws coincide with the Angle, I say nothing. They have been already noticed by others. As little do I say about the story of *Sceaf*, a legend common to Angles and Longobards, which has also commanded attention.

The more we go into the details of the Secession, the more we make the Lombards Saxon. Gibbon is not the only author who uses the word. Neither does he rely on a single authority. Neither is the term a vague one. As far as a negative statement may be hazarded, it may be said that no German was ever called a *Saxon*, either by himself or others, unless he belonged, to the same division as the Angles and the Frisians. To a Goth, an Alemann, or a Bavarian, the application of the term was quite out of the question; and it would be only under most exceptional circumstances that a Hessian, a Thuringian, or a Frank could be designated by it. He might, however, be so called when an intruder into the Saxon area. As a general rule, however, the currency of the word was Frank, *i. e.* it was the Franks who most especially used and diffused it; whereas its application was Angle and Frisian, *i.e.* it was the Frisians and Angles who were most especially denoted by it. Roughly speaking, everything to the north of Paderborn, that was neither Slavonic nor Danish, was in the eyes of the Franks Saxon; and it was between the Franks, the Hessians, and Thuringians of the south, and the Angles and Frisians to the north, that the contrast between Saxon and non-Saxon was most especially drawn. What was Saxon in the eyes of the Franks, was Saxon over the rest of Germany; neither was anything Saxon in the eyes of the Franks which was not either Frisian or Saxon in the more limited sense of the word. So much for the term *Saxon* having been anything but vague. Why should it have been so? No one knew what *Saxon* meant better than the Frank. The two names were antagonistic. The difference of dialect

was the difference between the Platt Deutsch in its oldest form, and the English in *its* oldest. The Saxon area was pagan and hostile. It was destined to become, more or less, Frank in the course of time. In the reign, however, of the early Lombard kings, no division of the German family was likely to be called *Saxon* unless it was, at least, as Angliform as the Frisian. And even the Frisians and the Saxons were often separated.

That the Lombards of Tacitus and Ptolemy lay within the Saxon portion of Germany has been already seen. The notices of the Saxons of the Secession indicate the same locality:—"Tempore illo, quo Albo-"inus in Italiam ingressus est, Chlotacharius et Sigi-"bertus Suavos et alias gentes in loco illo posuerunt" (Greg. Tur. v. 15). The words *loco illo* mean a district of the Lower Hartz, which the Lombards had evacuated. Again:—"Chlotarius et Sigisbertus, reges "Francorum, Suavos aliasque gentes in illis locis, de "quibus iidem *Saxones*" (*i. e.* the Saxons of the Lombard invasion of Italy) "exierant, posuerunt" (Paul. Diac. 26). Again:—"Suevi vero Transbadani" (*i. e.* beyond the Bode), "illam quam incolunt regionem "eo tempore invaserunt, quo *Saxones* cum Longo-"bardis Italiam adiere, et ideo aliis legibus quam "*Saxones* utuntur" (Witikend of Corby). Again:—"Post hæc Saxones qui cum Longobardis in Italiam "venerant, iterum prorumpunt in Gallias . . . scilicet "ut a Sigiberto rege collecti in loco, unde egressi "fuerunt, stabilirentur. . . . Hi vero ad Sigibertum "regem transeuntes, in locum, unde prius egressi "fuerunt, stabiliti sunt" (Gregor. Turon. iv. 43). Zeuss, from whom all these quotations are taken,

considers that Gregory of Tours is Warnefrid's authority; who, certainly, writes doubtfully about the Secession:—"Quantum datur intelligi, noluerunt Longo-"bardorum imperiis subjacere. Sed neque iis à "Longobardis permissum est, in proprio jure subsis-"tere, ideoque æstimantur ad suam patriam repe-"tasse" (iii. 6).

That these Saxons were either Angle or Angliform I have no doubt. As little do I doubt that they spoke the language to which the names Audouin, Alboin, and Clapa belonged. Whether they were actual Longobards, or members of a closely allied division, is of no great importance. It is enough if they belonged to the division to which the leaders of the invasion belonged. Individually, however, I think that Saxon seceders were the true and original Lombards.

From the Saxon Secession to the times of Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Strabo, the evidence of each and all these writers is to connect the Longobards with the Angles.

Ptolemy places to the west and south of the Suevi-Angli (*Σούηβοι οἱ Ἄγγειλοι*) on the Middle Elbe the *Λαγγόβαρδοι*, and between the Chauci Majores and the Suevi the *Λακκόβαρδοι*. Whatever may be the import of the difference between these two forms, the geographical contact of the Langobardi is with the Angli.

Strabo gives no such termination as *-βαρδ* at all, though he gives the initials *Λαγγ-*, his name being *Λαγγόσαργοι*. This may or may not mean Lombard. If it do not, it tells neither way. If it do, it points to an Angle affinity—the Angle character of the Suevi of the Elbe, suggested by the text of Ptolemy, being borne in mind. Of this name much more will be said in the sequel. At present the text of Strabo is sufficient:—

"The nation of the Suevi is very great. It reaches "from the Rhine to the Elbe. A part of it lies even "beyond the Elbe, viz. the Hermunduri, and the *Lan-* "*gosargi*. These last, however, have been driven "across the river, one and all."—*Νῦν δὲ καὶ τελέως εἰς τὴν περαίαν οὗτοί γε ἐκπεπτύκασι φεύγοντες* (lib. vii.).

Velleius writes: "Fracti *Langobardi*, gens etiam Ger- "mana feritate ferocior; denique . . . usque ad flu- "vium Alboin . . . Romanus cum segnis perductus "exercitus" (lib. ii. 106).

The practice of breaking up the text of authors into short paragraphs, though not without its advantages, for the purpose of quotation or reference, has its corresponding inconveniences. It interrupts the train of thought, and, in some cases, creates artificial dislocation of context. It does this in §§ 38, 39, and 40, of the 'Germania' of Tacitus—the author who now comes under notice. In § 38 he writes:—"Nunc de Suevis "dicendum est; quorum non una, ut Chaltorum Tenc- "terorumve gens; majorem enim Germaniæ partem "obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque "discreti, quanquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur.— "§ 39. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum "Semnones memorant—centum pagis habitantur: "magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Suevorum caput "credant.—§ 40. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobili- "tat: quod plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, "non per obsequium sed prœliis et periclitando tuti "sunt. Reudigni, deinde, et Aviones, et *Angli*, et Varini, "et Eudoses, et Suardones, et Niuthones," etc. The connection of the Semnones and Langobards with the Suevi is (I think) clear; and I would not say that it was not the intention of Tacitus to make the Reudigni,

etc., Suevi also. At any rate, § 41 begins thus:—"Et "hæc pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur. "Proprior (ut quomodo paullo ante Rhenum, sic nunc "Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas," etc.

Ptolemy divides the Suevi into the Suevi Langobardi and the Suevi Angli; stating that "of the nations of "the interior, the greatest is that of the Suevi Angli, "to the east of the Langobardi" (*i. e.* Suevi Langobardi) "and extending northwards to the middle course "of the Elbe, and the country of the Suevi Semno-"nes, etc." Again:—"Between the Chauci Majores "and the Suevi, the Angrivarii, then the Langobardi, "below which the Dulgumnii."

As it will be some time before the name occurs again, we may pause and take a review of these notices. Tacitus, when his four sections are taken together, and when his text is compared with that of Strabo and Velleius, loses what little appearance he may elsewhere have of being an original and independent authority. He tells us what we find in Strabo and Paterculus, viz. that the Lombards were reduced in numbers; but that they were, nevertheless, brave; and he associates them with both the Suevi and the Angli, just as Strabo had done before him. Ptolemy's connection of the Angli and Langobardi is of a more indirect kind. The Suevi are both Angles and Lombards. Meanwhile, between Ptolemy and Strabo, the Longobards fall into two divisions. Strabo's lie to the east of the Elbe, in a locality decidedly Slavonic. One of Ptolemy's, on the other hand, lies east of the Angrivarii—*i. e.* in what was afterwards Eastphalia, a locality as decidedly Angle.

Here I take leave of the main subject, submitting to the reader the opinion that if it were not for complication

introduced by the High German character of glosses of the Lombard Laws, the common-sense view of the Langobardi would be that they were either Angle or Angliform. Such being the case, the value of the complications comes under notice. I submit that, with the change of dynasty and the Saxon Secession before our eyes, they are so extremely slight, that the original facts must take their course.

So much the Angle or Angliform character of the Lombards; from the time of Tacitus to the time of Autharis. It does not, however, follow that because a nation exhibits certain characteristics at one period it has done so from all time. Warnefrid expressly states that the Longobards were originally called Winili. Now this term *Winili* must not be ignored. It is as good a single fact in favour of the Lombards having been Slavonians, as any other single fact is in favour of their being Angles. It is, of course, traversed by others. This, however, is a reason for trying to reconcile the two conflicting series—not for pretermitting it.

That, word for word, *Winili* is *Vandali*, few, I believe, doubt. That the *Vandals* were the *Wends*, or Slavonians under a German name, is doubted by many. Many believe that the fact of the Goths and Vandals being not only associated in history, but both being under kings with German names, is sufficient to place them in the same ethnological group. I have, elsewhere,[1] given reasons for demurring to this conclusion, reasons which it is not thought necessary to repeat. It is assumed then that *Winili* is *Vandal*, and that *Vandal* is *Vend*.

[1] The Germania of Tacitus, with Ethnological Notes.

But were the Lombards actually called *Vinili?* I think they were. I think so, because I do not see how the statement could have originated if they were not. The text of Warnefrid contains it; and there is no better way of accounting for it, than by assuming it to be true. It is not the sort of fact that men invent. Moreover, it is probable *per se.* The Langobards of Tacitus are on the Slavonic frontier. They are on the Slavonic side of the Elbe. Slavonians in these quarters may easily have been Germanized.

Could the Lombards have ever been Lithuanic, the nearest known point of the Lithuanic area to that of the Lombards being the Vistula? Why ask the question? On account of the name *Λαγγόσαργοι* in Strabo.

One of the first-hand sources from which we get the details of the Lithuanian Pantheon is a Catechism, representing the dialect of the parts about Koningsberg, of the date A.D. 1547, with a Latin Preface, from which Professor Schleicher, to whose researches the present notice is due, gives the following important extract:—

"Imo, quod auditu horribilius est, multi etiamnum "manifestam idololatriam et exercent et profitentur "palam: alii arbores, alii flumina, alii serpentes, alii "aliud colunt, honorem exhibentes divinum. Sunt "qui Percuno vota faciunt; quibusdam, ob rem fru-"mentariam, *Laucosargus*, et propter pecuariam Se-"mepates colitur. Qui ad malas artes adjiciunt ani-"mum Eithuaros et Caucos Deos profitentur suos."

Then follows a quotation giving, in the vernacular Lithuanic, the following line,—

"Kaukus, Szemepatis ir *Laukasargus*," etc.,

wherein we get the word in its natural and native form. As a deity however, Laukasargus is, by no means, prominent; indeed, the Catechism is the only authority for his existence. But this has no great bearing upon the present inquiry; where the question is, not whether *Λαγγόσαρκος* be the name of a Lithuanic divinity, but whether it be a Lithuanic term at all. This it is. It is either a Lithuanic compound, like *blackbird* in English, or a pair of Lithuanic words like *black bird*. "Laukosargas," writes Schleicher, "should perhaps be written in two words, viz. *laúko*, "the genitive case, and *sargas*. The Low Lithuanic "form is *Laukasargus*, from *laúkas*=*soil, ground, field*, "and *sárgas*=*watcher* or *guard*, from *serg-mi*=*I watch* "or *guard*" (Lithuanica, p. 27). Hence *Laukasargus*, if we look to its nearest equivalent, is *ground-keeper*.

It is not impossible, then, that the *Λαγγόσαργος* of Strabo may be a Lithuanic gloss; equivalent, perhaps, to the German *Marcomannus*=*keeper of the march* or *frontier*.

There is another name which, at one and the same time, appears in the narrative of Warnefrid, and in Lithuanic language of both its earliest known stage and the present time. This is the root *Lam*,—in the Longobard *Lamissio*, and, doubtless, in the Latin *Lamia*. In a list of the Lithuanic deities, according to the belief of the middle of the last century, we find

> Fortuna, *Laime*, Glück, Göthrin,
> Lucina, *Laume*, Göttinn der Geburt,
> Dea Partus, *Laimele*.

We find, too, at the present time, that *Laúmė* is the nightmare, that he is the fairy who changes children;

and that *Laime* is, as near as may be, the goddess Fortune. Her name appears in more than one of the Dainos, or Songs, of the Lithuanians of the present moment.

That the Langobards were Slavonic before they were Anglicized is probable. That they were Lithuanic is not impossible. The main point however of the present paper is, that, till the Saxon Secession and the change of dynasty, the true Lombards of Lombardy were all but Angles, whatever their successors were.

XII.—ON RECENT RESEARCHES AT BUDRUM (THE ANCIENT HALICARNASSUS), BRANCHIDÆ, AND CNIDUS.

BY C. T. NEWTON, ESQ., BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT MYTILENE.

Being the substance of Papers read before the Royal Society of Literature on Nov. 25, 1857, and Feb. 2, 1859.[1]

It will be within the recollection of many of the Members of the Royal Society of Literature, that about eleven years ago a considerable collection of sculptures was procured from the Castle of Budrum, formerly Halicarnassus, and were presented to the national collection by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (then Sir Stratford Canning). These sculptures, from a long chain of evidence which I can here only briefly allude to, were satisfactorily proved to have once formed part of the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and have been ably described and illustrated by Mr. Newton in the 'Classical Journal,' vol. v.

It was therefore but natural that when, after the lapse of several years, Mr. Newton found himself settled at no great distance from Budrum, he should have felt most anxious for the fuller investigation of a place, the history of which he had already studied

[1] The following paper contains the substance of two papers which were read before the Royal Society of Literature at considerable intervals of time. I have thought it, on the whole, best now to combine them together, omitting some matters which were stated more fully at the time, but which are not now required by the reader.

with so much care. In this effort I hope to show that he has been eminently successful; the paper I am about to read being in fact nothing more than his own record of his researches, condensed from the official despatches he has addressed to his immediate superiors, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Lord Clarendon. I may add that besides these despatches, I have been permitted by Lieut.-General Fox and other friends to look over several most interesting letters addressed by Mr. Newton to them. To these, however, I cannot here do more than allude, at the same time expressing to them my thanks for their permission to peruse them.

Before, however, I enter on the subject of Mr. Newton's own researches, I must state as briefly as possible what was known of the history of the Mausoleum at the time he commenced his examination of the remains at Budrum.

The great monument, called the Mausoleum, was erected in honour of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died B.C. 353, by his widow Artemisia, who employed all the most eminent talent of the period to render it what was justly then, and has since been deemed, one of the wonders of the world. Its architects were Satyrus and Phiteus, and from Pliny and Vitruvius we learn some details of its construction; that it was placed not far from the shore of the harbour of Halicarnassus; and that its four sides were adorned with sculptures by the hands of Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares and Scopas, while a fifth, Pythis, devoted his talents to the sculpture of a marble chariot and four horses, which surmounted the whole edifice.

In form, we learn from Pliny, that the building was a parallelogram, the northern and southern sides of

which were respectively 63 feet long, while those of the east and west were somewhat shorter; that it was surrounded by 36 columns, forming the support of a pyramid of 24 steps, which tapered towards the top like a *meta*. The whole height was 140 feet.

As the reign of Artemisia lasted only two years, it was impossible that so great a work should be completed in a period so brief; we are told, however, that such was the emulation among the sculptors employed, that, after her death, they completed it for their own honour and the glory of their art, while it is not unreasonable at the same time to presume that some portion of the building had already been erected during the reign of Mausolus himself. We also learn from Aulus Gellius and Eusebius that contests for eloquence and poetry formed part of the funeral ceremonies in honour of Mausolus;—that Theodectes obtained a prize for a poem entitled "Mausolus," and that Isocrates was beaten in an oratorical contest by Theopompus.

For the first four centuries after its erection we hear nothing of the Mausoleum, but from the commencement of the Roman Empire allusions to it are constant.

Thus in a poem attributed to Martial, 'De Spectaculis,' that writer uses the remarkable words, "Aëre vacuo pendentia Mausolea," in allusion to its peculiar structure; while a little later, Lucian, in his 'Dialogues of the Dead,' introduces Mausolus as one of his speakers, and remarks that the sculptures of men and horses were admirable in their workmanship, and of the finest marble.

In the second century Pausanias states that the Romans admired it so much, that they termed all similar

receptacles for the dead, *Mausolea*. In the fourth, it is noticed by Gregory of Nazianzus; in the tenth, by Constantinus Porphyrogennetus; in the eleventh, by Eudocia, who, however, describes its position incorrectly; and finally, in the twelfth, by Eustathius, whose language, θαῦμα καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ("it was and is a wonder"), would seem to imply that at that time a considerable portion of it must have still been standing.

It cannot now be determined at what time it began to fall into ruin, or whether it owes its first injuries to the hand of man. There is, however, good reason to suppose, as suggested by Mr. Newton, that some portion at least of the building, including probably the upper steps of the pyramid with the quadriga that rested on it, were thrown down by the agency of an earthquake.

In A.D. 1404 we know that the Knights of Rhodes took possession of Halicarnassus, and built the present citadel, which they called the Castle of St. Pietro; the historian of the siege of Rhodes, Fontanus, distinctly stating that a German knight, Heinrich von Schlegelholt, constructed it out of the remains of the Mausoleum. Yet still it is clear, that, even at that late period, there must have been considerable remains of the original building unremoved, as Cepio, who visited the port of Halicarnassus in A.D. 1472, with an expedition under the command of Pietro Mocenigo, noticed it among other ruins of the town. Much, however, of what he observed was probably removed when the castle underwent repairs in A.D. 1480 and 1522.

The present name of this locality, Budrum, is said to be a corruption of St. Pietro.

I may add, that a very curious record has been pre-

served of the existence of the Mausoleum at a p
comparatively recent, and has been quoted at full l
by Mr. Newton in his paper in the 'Classical Jou
to which we have alluded. In the year A.D.
M. Guichard published at Lyons an interesting vo
entitled, 'Funérailles des Romains, Grecs, etc.'
this work he gives an account of the histories
battles sculptured in relief at the Mausoleum (d
less the Amazonomachia, which is the subject o
longest frieze), and mentions certain white marble
—perhaps those of the pyramid. He states tha
received his information from M. Dalechamp, the
tor of Pliny, and he again from M. de la Tourrette,
was himself present at the last demolition of the s
ture for the repairs of the castle, in A.D. 1522. T
can therefore be no doubt that so late as this ye
considerable quantity of much valuable sculpture
still remaining *in situ*.

With this brief notice of what was known of
existence and fate of the Mausoleum, I proceed
my extracts from Mr. Newton's despatches, premis
however, that I cannot do more on this occasion
give the substance of his papers, following as ne
as possible the course of his discoveries. As the
spatches fill some hundreds of folios of writing,
Society will hardly, I believe, expect more from
than this, especially as I have reason to hope that
more important letters will ere long be printed (as
ought to be) at the expense of the country.[2]

Mr. Newton commenced his operations at Bud

[2] Since this was written, the Government has published two pa
containing the principal despatches Mr. Newton has address
the Foreign Office. The first is called, "Papers respecting the E

in the early part of 1856, having been sent by H. E. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in H.M. Steamer 'Medusa,' on a cruise to the southern part of the Archipelago. On this occasion, however, as his time was limited, he was not able to do much more than to make a few diggings in different spots that seemed to promise chance of discovery. In a field known, in his subsequent Reports, as that of Chiaoux, he found an immense quantity of terra-cotta figures of the class usually placed by the ancients in their tombs and temples as votive offerings; the majority of them of inferior workmanship, but often in excellent preservation. They were found lying at a depth from 3 to 6 feet below the surface, in a rich black earth, resting on a bed of dense glutinous clay. The figures themselves were generally arranged in regular layers. Many foundation walls were at and about the spot where they were discovered, composed generally of rubble, united by strong grouting. Little further could at that time be done, as the crops were still growing over this ground; but Mr. Newton was able to examine minutely the different parts of the town, and whatever was to be seen on the surface, and to satisfy his own mind that there was no evidence of the Mausoleum, either on the site proposed by Captain Spratt, R.N., or on that selected by M. Ludwig Ross.

In October, 1856, Mr. Newton was sent to Budrum by H.M. Government, with an expedition, in which he was provided with the valuable assistance of a ship of war, the 'Gorgon,' and a small detachment of Sappers, commanded by Lieut. Smith, R.E.

vations at Budrum," fol. 1858. The second, "Further Paper respecting the same Excavations," fol. 1858.

On this second occasion Mr. Newton commenced his diggings in the field called, after the name of the owner, the field of Chiaoux, the site which he had, as I have stated, partially examined in the spring of the same year. His first excavations brought to light a vast quantity of terra-cotta objects, lamps, etc.; they were generally of red, unglazed Roman ware, and in such numbers that the workmen threw them out by shovelfuls. With the lamps were abundance of terra-cotta figures arranged in layers, as if this spot had been originally a potter's shop;—many of them conventional and coarse in execution, and probably of a date between Augustus and Hadrian. In trenching the field in all directions, many foundations were found, of what Mr. Newton has imagined to have been a Byzantine building or monastery; interspersed however with these were many carefully squared stones, evidently the remains of some Hellenic edifice, and one of them bore an inscription, with a dedication to Demeter and Persephone, and may, perhaps, have belonged to a temple dedicated to these deities. The letters appear to be about the age of Mausolus.

From the field of Chiaoux, Mr. Newton proceeded to examine critically the site proposed by Captain Spratt as that of the Mausoleum. It is a little to the north-east of the former field, and consists chiefly of a platform rising above the general level of the plain, and encircled on three sides by the wall of what was once a Byzantine monastery. This platform had evidently been formed by levelling the native rock, which at the southern end rises to the surface. Captain Spratt's chief reasons for selecting this site appear to have been, that it coincides with the position Vitruvius indicates

for the centre of the ancient city, halfway between the harbour and the heights;—that, on the eastern side, there are still portions remaining of an Hellenic wall;—that on the north side several pieces of columns, of large diameter, are to be seen;—and that it may be inferred from ancient writers that the Mausoleum stood upon a mound.

I may add that, not long after Captain Spratt's visit to Budrum, Mr. Ludwig Ross made a minute examination of the same spot, the result of which was that so far from accepting Captain Spratt's views, the German professor selected a wholly different locality, and placed his Mausoleum on a higher and more extensive platform, hitherto identified with Vitruvius's "Temple of Mars." M. Ross wrote a paper illustrative of his opinions, and especially directed against Mr. Newton's identifications as suggested in his paper in the 'Classical Journal,' in which he sneers at the possibility of any student who had not himself surveyed the place, forming any conception of the real position of the Mausoleum, either from the evidence of ancient writers or with aid of modern travellers.

Mr. Newton subjected the rival theories to the test of actual excavation on the spot, and was confirmed in the opinion he had formed from his inspection in the spring, that there were no sufficient indications of Hellenic workmanship in either of these localities, to demonstrate the truth of the theories of either Spratt or Ross.

Mr. Newton then proceeded to make excavations in an adjoining plot of ground, named from its proprietor the field of Hadji Captan, having been apparently induced to dig there from the report he had received,

that an excellent torso of a draped female figure, procured by Mr. Alison in 1846, and now in the Museum, had been found in this field. He was soon rewarded by the discovery of a large number of tessellated pavements, evidently the remains of an extensive villa. From the plans he has forwarded, it would seem the foundations of it have been clearly traced for 118 feet east and west, and 89 feet north and south.

Many of the pavements seem to have been coarsely made, and are of late Roman work,—but among the excavations numerous discoveries of interest occurred, to which I shall briefly allude. Of these, the principal were the finding of several detached rooms, which must have belonged to this villa. In one of these (1) was a sunk square more than eight feet in diameter, paved with slabs of beautifully cut white marble about an inch thick. Round this square were four oblong pictures, each occupying the centres of one side of the room. The subjects of these pictures were animals, with representations of a greyhound, goats, lions, bulls, and panthers; the animals were designed with great spirit, and their movements full of life; the colouring, too, though only partially true to nature, was rich and harmonious. In another room (2) 62 feet long by 26 feet broad, were the following curious representations:—*a*, in an oblong mosaic, Meleager and Atalanta hunting a lion and a leopard; their names are attached in Greek characters. *β*, in a corresponding part of the apartment, a second hunting scene, the personages engaged bearing the names of Dido and Æneas. It is remarkable that Dido is represented sitting sideways on her horse. The horses of Meleager and Dido are painted blue, that of Æneas yellow. Between these

oblong compartments were two circular patterns, each inscribed in a square. It is probable that a third oblong had intervened between these circles, but nearly all traces of it had disappeared. In the angles of one of the squares were representations of Spring, Summer, and Winter. It is a matter of much regret that these mosaics had been so much injured that Mr. Newton was able to preserve but a small portion of some of the figures. In a third excavation (3) a gallery 40 feet by 12 was discovered, with a pavement in good preservation. The design was arranged in three compartments, and consists of a group representing Amphitrite as a naked female, amid whales and dolphins, and on either side of her a youthful Triton, holding up the ends of a veil, which floats behind her. In the centre is a guilloche knot, with red, crimson, blue, and yellow colours, and at the opposite end a square, in which is inscribed a circle composed of a guilloche plait, interlaced with a band of lozenge pattern.

In a fourth excavation (4) was a narrow strip, 14 feet by 6 inches, containing three medallions, with female busts, inscribed respectively with the names of the cities of Halicarnassus, Alexandria, and Berytus. The three busts are in very coarse style, and the costume of a late period of the Roman Empire. In a fifth room (5) a long narrow strip of pavement, 51 feet by 15 feet, was discovered, bounded by a border of interlaced diagonals—black on a white ground. Within this outer border was an inner one, of small medallions, and within this broad margin, an oblong design, comprising five wide, and four narrow compartments. Among these were found representations of "Phobos," or "Terror," placed, like the head of Medusa, in the

centre of bucklers; of a Satyr pursuing a Mænad or Bacchante; of a Nereid seated on a hippocamp; and of Dionysus and his panther; together with a great number of miscellaneous objects, placed in the smaller medallions, and consisting, for the most part, of fish, birds, and flowers. The medallions are on a white ground, and the colouring of the objects in them is elegant and harmonious. At the end of this portion was found a rectangular space, bounded by a party wall on the east, south, and west sides, and in length 30 feet by 26 feet. This, too, was full of different designs: as, for example,—a goat-legged Pan, gathering grapes; two dolphins, with a trident between them; Europa standing beside the bull; and a reclining water-nymph.

Besides these, there were several other pavements, with various patterns, which I cannot now describe, but which are fully recorded in Mr. Newton's own despatch. A great part of them was corroded by the moisture of the ground, in which they had been so long lying; but more than fifty cases have been filled with what he was able to remove, and have arrived safely in England. I must add that Mr. Newton states he was unable to determine what had been the original purpose of the structure of which these mosaics have formed the flooring; partly because one end of it terminated in a modern Turkish cemetery, which could not therefore be excavated. The foundation walls vary in thickness, and are composed of squared blocks, intermixed with rubble, and occasionally with the drums of columns of some other structure. Some of these drums exhibited Doric, but late and shallow, flutings. It was clear that this building had been com-

posed of the fragments of some previous one, on the same site, and that its own plan had been, more than once, altered after erection. Thus, under one pavement, were found pieces of stucco, and the remains of an earlier pavement; and under the floor of another room, a torso of a draped female figure, life-size, in two pieces, representing a female in rapid motion—probably a Victory or a Nemesis. The form is slight; the proportions those of a young girl, with the drapery deeply cut, so as to cast strong shadows—in fact, just such a statue as might well form part of an architectural design to be seen from below. In composition, this figure bears considerable resemblance to the Dancing Girls from Xanthus (now in the Lycian room at the Museum): and, though its execution is inferior and provincial, it may belong to the same school of art. It is probably of the Roman period.

Several other pieces of statues, and a small fragment in low relief, of Roman times, were found near the same place: the fragments of sculpture having been apparently used with the drums of columns to make an artificial level where the rock had failed.

At one corner of the building was found a well, with a small male head in white marble, a bronze lamp, and some other small objects in it: and in some cases the rooms themselves retained portions of the white marble skirting with which they had once been lined throughout. The general structure of the tessellated pavements was according to the rules laid down by Vitruvius, except where the native rock supplied the place of the third bed of *rudus* (or rubble). The *tessellæ* were generally of marble; brick, however, was used for the red colours; and glass for the green, in one represen-

tation, of vine-leaves. The cubes were irregularly cut, and wanted the precision characterizing the earlier Hellenic mosaics which Mr. Newton first met with. The surface of the patterns were generally covered with a calcareous incrustation, which had probably oozed through the interstices of the pavement, from the bed of cement below. Mr. Newton's general conclusions with respect to this portion of his labours, were, that the villa he had unearthed was one of Roman times, constructed on ground previously occupied by an earlier Hellenic building; that the pavements had been mended and altered, subsequently to the first plan; that none of them were earlier than the age of the Antonines, while some might be subsequent to that of Caracalla; that the orthography of some of the Greek names (as for instance, *AIAP* for *EAP*), suggested the existence of a Carian or Barbaric dialect among the population; and that the portraits of Meleager and Dido would seem to be later than the other.

Careful photographs have been made of all these pavements, under the superintendence of Lieut. Smith, R.E., so that it will be possible for a skilful artist (on comparing the photographs with the original pavements sent home) to make a perfect facsimile of the original designs in their appropriate colours.

I now proceed with the account of Mr. Newton's more important discoveries; and, at the risk of some occasional repetition, I shall do so according to the order of his despatches, believing that the Society, in common with all his own friends, will take an interest in knowing in what order his different discoveries were made, and to learn how, from small and apparently unimportant beginnings, he has succeeded in comple-

ting the most remarkable series of researches perhaps ever accomplished.

Not long, then, subsequently to his excavations of the tessellated pavements, Mr. Newton commenced digging a little to the north of what is called the "Aga's Konak," on a spot where some years ago Professor Donaldson noticed the remains of a superb Ionic edifice, many of the ornaments from which he has engraved in the fourth volume of the new edition of Stuart's 'Athens.' Mr. Newton had already noticed in this locality many fragments of Ionic columns, and that the walls of the fields and houses around, for the space of half an acre of ground, were in great measure constructed of pieces of Parian marble. Hence the antecedent probability that at, or very near, to this place was the actual site of the Mausoleum. The result confirmed this hypothesis remarkably. After two days' digging, Mr. Newton came upon some small fragments, which had been evidently broken off from a frieze in high relief, similar to that from Budrum, presented to the Museum in 1846 by Sir Stratford Canning.

At the same time, an adjacent wall was taken down, composed entirely of drums of columns and fragments of marble. Among these, was found a portion of the body of a colossal lion, exactly similar in style to some lions' heads which had been built by the knights into their Castle; and on the same scale, part of a colossal arm, the forehand of a horse life-size, various fragments of friezes in high relief, and a number of architectural mouldings, etc., were discovered soon afterwards. On removing the modern wall, containing the drums of Ionic columns, the diggings were continued to its foundations, till at length Mr. Newton came to a square

cutting in the rock, under the field, extending some 30 feet north and south, shallow to the north, but at the southern end about 13 feet deep, and terminating in a subterranean passage running into the solid rock in a westerly direction.

Continuing the excavations to the east, Mr. Newton next met with a mass of ruins lying just below the surface. Among these was one of the columns of the Mausoleum, standing nearly perpendicularly, but inverted, and a few yards beyond this, at the depth of 10 feet, the edge of a pavement or step was found, about six inches below which the native rock was cut completely level, so as to form a floor.

The earth lying above this level was one mass of rubble and broken marble: and under it, Mr. Newton discovered a most interesting piece of sculpture,—the body of a colossal statue from the waist to the ankle. It appears to have been a male figure attired in the *chiton;* one leg is crossed upon the other in an attitude of repose. Almost immediately afterwards, another mass of sculpture, lying close to the last, was cleared of the earth, and proved to be that of an immense equestrian figure, representing a warrior on horseback, wearing the Persian or Oriental trousers, and perhaps intended for an Amazon.

There could be now no doubt that Mr. Newton had lighted on genuine remains of the sculpture of the Mausoleum, while the probability was strong that the smoothed rock above mentioned was the actual bed on which the building had once stood.

Mr. Newton remarks on these first discoveries,—that all these remains were wrought with the utmost refinement and delicacy of finish; that the fragments

of the small figures from the friezes were generally better preserved than that of the frieze in the Museum; and that the architectural mouldings, in many instances, retained some of their original vermilion or ultramarine colours. The Amazonian figure had suffered much in its fall, and the neck, legs, and hind-quarters of the horse had been broken away. The body of the rider had been originally in two pieces, the upper of which had been fitted on to the waist. The lower part, from the waist to halfway below the right knee, and the same side of the horse, are in very fine condition. Mr. Newton justly considers this one of the most remarkable specimens of colossal Greek sculpture that has ever been seen; and those who have examined it since its arrival in England, will readily echo his opinion, that in mastery of execution it rivals the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon.

The discovery of the column tends far to determine the size of the building to which it belonged. The upper diameter is 3 feet 1 inch, the lower about 3 feet 9 inches. The order is Ionic, and, in general character, bears much resemblance to that in the temple at Priene, which has been engraved by the Society of Dilettanti.

The Society can form some idea of the satisfaction with which Mr. Newton must have contemplated the first great results of his excavations, revealing, as they did now, beyond all question, the first distinct evidence of a grand school of sculpture intermediate between that of Phidias and Lysippus, a school, too, of which scarcely any specimens had been previously known. It was but natural that, with such success, he should be anxious to make more rapid progress, lest accident or illwill, contingencies but too common

everywhere, and peculiarly so in Eastern countries, should interfere with or arrest the progress of his researches. It was therefore with the utmost pleasure that, early in 1857, he received from Constantinople the *firman*, authorizing him to remove the lions from the walls of the Castle, and to add these interesting fragments to the sculptures he had himself discovered. Nor did the *firman* arrive one day too soon; for three of these lions had been already taken down by the order of Fatha Ahmed Pasha, and were at the time on board a Turkish ship in the harbour of Budrum, for transport to Constantinople. I am bound to add, that the Turkish Commandant behaved on this occasion to Mr. Newton in a very courteous and obliging manner. The *firman* enabled Mr. Newton also to claim the three other lions which were still in the walls, and these were immediately afterwards extracted and packed up. Mr. Newton states that these lions are nearly all broken off about the middle of the body, and have lost their legs and lower extremities. Two of their heads are in fine condition. He adds that he found, in the course of his diggings, the hind quarters of five other lions, on the same scale and proportions as those from the Castle, together with the legs, paws, and portions of the tails of several others, and that he had good hope whenever these fragments should have reached England, that many of them would be joined together. This hope, the Society will rejoice to hear, has already in many instances been realized. It cannot, of course, be expected that the portions which had already been built into the Castle should be all equally well preserved; they have naturally suffered much corrosion from the action of the salts of the sea,

and from the rough usage they experienced when used as building-stones by the Knights; on the other hand, the pieces that have been dug up are in the finest condition, and their surface is, in some cases, as fresh as when they left the hand of the sculptor.

To proceed with the excavations. Towards the middle of the spring of 1857, Mr. Newton had made such progress that he was able to give a clear account of the base lines of the original building. The whole area, he says, anciently occupied by this edifice is a parallelogram, of which the western side measures 110 feet, and the southern 126. The entire circumference may therefore be reckoned at 472 feet, the whole of this area being cut out of the native rock, to depths varying from 2 to 16 feet below the surface of the surrounding fields. Where the rock has failed at the sides, the line of cutting is continued as a wall, formed of large oblong blocks. The inner part of this quadrangle has been paved with large slabs of a greenish stone one foot thick, and when first cleared of earth, was strewn with *frusta* of columns, fragments of marble, building-stones, and rubble. From Pliny's account of the Mausoleum, we know that it measured 63 feet from east to west; that it was somewhat shorter from north to south, and that its entire circuit exceeded 400 feet.

Supposing this to have been the area of the tomb, its ruins would naturally be found extending over the whole of it; and if, in the course of centuries, much of these ruins were carried away, the remainder would gradually disappear as new soil accumulated over the site. In the case of the Mausoleum, much may at first have been thrown down by an earthquake. Then,

the portions most useful as large building-stones were employed by the Knights of Rhodes in the construction of their Castle; and then, finally, the smaller pieces were appropriated by the Turks, to build their modern houses and walls. By such constant plunder and destruction, the whole of the edifice has disappeared; the massive courses of the foundation stones, however, still remain, being held in their places by iron clamps.

About the same time, on clearing part of the western side, Mr. Newton found a staircase of twelve steps, 30 feet wide, which had once led from the base of the hill to the western side of the precinct of the Mausoleum; no gate, however, corresponding with it was discovered, but near it were found many curious objects, the most interesting being an alabaster vase, inscribed in the Persian cuneiform character with the name of Xerxes, and containing also a cartouche, with Hieroglyphics, in which the same name may be readily deciphered. The Society is doubtless aware that another vase, inscribed similarly, but with the name of Artaxerxes Ochus, is preserved in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice. It is not unreasonable to believe, as Mr. Newton has, I think, suggested, that this vase may have been a present from the Persian king to the elder Artemisia, who aided him with a fleet, manned by her Asiatic Greek subjects, at the memorable battle of Salamis. Vases of this character are said to be, generally, of Egyptian origin; and the rudeness with which the arrow-head characters have been scratched in, suggests to me the probability that they were hastily drawn upon the surface of a vase which had been prepared, perhaps years before, with the cartouche

containing the name of the king. After the death of this Artemisia, it may have been placed in or near the tomb as a sepulchral offering; or else, in connection with the tomb there may have been a treasury, from which the vase had been taken, but abandoned as of little value by those who had rifled it. In its present state, the vase is much broken, and can be only partially reunited; the edges too of the fractures appear to be ancient. I ought to state that close to the vase was a gigantic stone, weighing more than ten tons, which, from the care with which it had been lowered and then bolted into its existing position, Mr. Newton conjectures may have formed the entrance to the Tomb of Mausolus. Of course, no remains of his tomb were still *in situ*, but Guichard has preserved the tradition that some portion of it, if not the actual body of the King, was in existence when the Knights first began to demolish the Mausoleum.

Continuing his researches on the east side of the Mausoleum, Mr. Newton came upon a colossal male statue, lying just under the surface of the soil. It had once represented a figure seated in a chair, but had been much shattered by its fall, the head, one arm, and the greater part of the legs having been broken off. This sculpture would seem to be about twice the size of life, and is in style exceedingly grand. On the north side Mr. Newton also found a portion of another colossal female figure, which must originally have been twelve feet high: it was tolerably perfect from the waist to the hips: and not long after he found a slab of extraordinary beauty, representing an Amazon on horseback, and part of the series of figures in the Museum frieze. He met with, also, a fragment repre-

senting a female figure stepping into a chariot, the face of which has been finished with the delicacy of a *cameo*; and with pieces of three other slabs, exhibiting figures in chariots, but apparently belonging to another and different frieze.

Mr. Newton's general conclusion, from what he has as yet found, appears to be, that there must have been two, if not three friezes around the Mausoleum, an hypothesis which is certainly confirmed by the similar arrangement of the Ionic (or Nereid) monument from Xanthus. Were this, indeed, not so, the great mass of solid masonry, not less than 65 feet high, would have produced a monotonous effect. Mr. Newton adds, with respect to the colossal Amazon, that from the discovery of many subsequent fragments, he is convinced that the horse was represented rearing up; and that the whole figure may not impossibly have formed part of a group, representing Mausolus transfixing a fallen enemy with his spear. The Society will be glad to know, that the workmen at the Museum have, within the last few days, set up this figure, and that the judgment of students at home entirely confirms Mr. Newton's supposition.

Mr. Newton had now explored as carefully as possible the whole of the ground within the apparent boundary of the original building, when he determined to continue his excavations beyond this line. This proved to have been a most fortunate decision, as he almost immediately came to a wall of white marble blocks, beautifully jointed in isodomous masonry, and, a little beyond this wall, to the north, to a mass of marble slabs, which were piled one above the other, and intermixed with fragments of statues. On remov-

ing these slabs, Mr. Newton laid open to view the following most important remains:—1. A colossal horse, in two pieces, one of which extends from the middle of the body to the tail, and is 6 feet 4 inches long; the other, from the shoulder to the top of the neck; together with one of the hoofs and a portion of a head, to which the bronze bridle was still adhering. 2. Close by the horse, a lion, in finer condition than any from the Castle. 3. A draped female figure, in two pieces, with the head wanting. 4. Another draped figure, in several pieces, but also without the head. 5. A colossal female head. 6. Another lion, in two pieces, with the head quite uninjured. 7. A head, perhaps that of Apollo, in three pieces, but capable of being reunited.

All these figures were found close together in a space of ground not more than 50 feet by 20; they were heaped one on the other, and had not been disturbed since their fall. Mr. Newton naturally concluded that the colossal horse must have been one of those originally in the quadriga at the top of the pyramid; that the deposit of earth brought down from the mountain had silted them up so that they were not observed by the Knights; and that there was good hope of yet greater discoveries, could he obtain leave to carry his excavations still further beyond this northern wall. The marble wall was unquestionably that of the *temenos;* and the fragments of sculpture just described must have been hurled, together with the pyramid on which they had stood, over and against this wall. Hyginus states, that the entire length of this *peribolus* was 1,340 feet.

After this great success, it will be readily imagined that Mr. Newton continued his researches with re-

doubled zest; nor was it long before he met with much additional matter, of the greatest interest and value. Thus, within the paved area of the Mausoleum, he found two more pieces of the frieze, one of them six feet long, and the composition exhibiting great boldness and originality. These, with the two slabs previously discovered, were from the frieze that had decorated the eastern side of the building. He then went on with his diggings outside the Hellenic wall, where he soon found the other half of the horse's head, with the bronze bit in very fine condition still adhering to the mouth, together with part of the bronze trappings attached to his cheek. And then, close to this portion of the head of the horse, a face broken off from a colossal human head. Mr. Newton had no doubt that this belonged to one of the figures in the quadriga, and considered the whole character of the style analogous to that of the ideal portraits of Alexander the Great on the coins of Lysimachus. It is therefore highly probable that we have here the portrait of Mausolus himself. The face is slightly bearded, the features massive, but finely formed, with a noble expression. The face has been split off from the head in such a manner that three quarters of it are preserved without any injury, except a slight abrasion on one side of the nose. A little further to the east, Mr. Newton discovered a smaller bearded face broken off in a similar manner from the head. This face was even less injured in its surface than the one last described; but its style is not so grand. Close to it was the lower portion of an archaic bearded head, which Mr. Newton assigns to a period as early as the Persian War, B.C. 490.

Soon after these discoveries the first large shipload of monuments was sent to England, comprising nearly two hundred cases.

Mr. Newton then continued his excavations on the north side, where he had previously found, as I have stated, the most important objects. Nor did he fail in his renewed diggings; for almost immediately, on removing a Turkish house which had occupied part of the ground, he discovered, under the foundations, part of the body of a draped female, in the same grand style as the statues found with the colossal horse; and in the wall of the house, a colossal female head, of very noble proportions, but much injured from having been, for a very long time, subjected to the action of the fire and smoke of the chimney. Not long subsequently, he came upon a colossal ram; the head of a lion, broken off at the shoulders; two bent arms, from a female statue; some portions of figures from the frieze; and several lions' heads from the cornice. After this, for awhile, he transferred his diggers to the southern side, where he made one most important discovery, though, on the whole, this side of the monument was curiously unproductive. This discovery was that of different portions of one of the wheels of the chariot. The fragments consist of part of the outer circle, half the nave, and a piece of one of the spokes; some fragments of other spokes had been previously found on the north side. It is quite possible from these pieces to determine the size and nature of the entire wheel. Thus it appears that it originally consisted of six spokes, and that the alternate intervals between each pair of spokes were closed, an arrangement which would, of course, give great

additional strength to the wheel, so as to enable it to bear the weight of the marble figures in the chariot.

By measuring the radius of curvature of the circumference, it appears, further, that the diameter must have been 7 feet 7 inches, a measurement, as Mr. Newton remarks, of great value in the estimation of the space required for the chariot at the top of the building. Thus, if the wheels were 7 feet 7 inches in diameter (as the measurement of the outer rim demonstrates that they were), and the length of the horses not less than 10 feet, the space required for the entire quadriga could hardly be less than 20 feet, and allowing 2 feet as margin, the length of the area on which the quadriga must have stood would be 24 feet. Again, from the usual form of the Greek chariot, we may be certain that the figures in it stood on the same level as the axis of the wheel. If so, half the diameter of the wheel or 3 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, will give the height of the figures from the base on which the quadriga stood: while we know that this base was one foot thick, as a fragment of it has been found attached to one of the horses' hoofs. Suppose, then, the height of the horses to be 10 feet; the entire height of the *quadriga*, inclusive of its base, will be 14 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; which added to the height of the pyramid (viz. $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet), as calculated from the twenty-four steps, gives a total height of 38 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, for quadriga *and* pyramid. This, it will be seen, is not very different from the height given by Pliny, viz. $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The fragments above mentioned were lying at a distance of more than 150 feet from the pieces of spokes found with the pyramid-steps, on the north side; a fact that may have arisen from the scattering effect pro-

duced by the successive shocks of an earthquake. As Mr. Newton has suggested, columns, if thrown from their bases by such a force, would act like levers upon the superincumbent pyramid, rending its compact mass asunder, and hurling portions of it in different directions.

I believe I have now laid before the Society a succinct account of Mr. Newton's researches on the site of the Mausoleum, and I must now turn to his other and more recent discoveries elsewhere. I must, however, premise, that though I have hitherto confined my narrative to the Mausoleum itself, there was much of the ground around, with many other sites within the limits of Budrum, which he was able to examine with scarcely less care than he has devoted to the most important structure. Thus his account of his researches on the site of the Temple of Mars, is full of interest; but time would fail were I to attempt at the present moment to do anything like justice to these inquiries.

I proceed therefore now to give some account of what he has accomplished at Branchidæ and Cnidus. Before, however, doing so, I ought, for a few minutes, to call the attention of my hearers to a very able Report, drawn up by Lieut. Smith, R.E., at Mr. Newton's request, as this document embodies the general results which have been obtained from the excavations, with the independent judgment of that officer as to the probable form and nature of the original structure. I am well aware that part of his plans will seem crude and unsatisfactory to some distinguished architects like my friends Professors Cockerell and Donaldson; still I cannot but feel that Lieut. Smith's reasonings are well deserving of attention, from the

clearness with which they have been urged; while it should be borne in mind, that if some of his suppositions are at variance with the received laws or practices of Greek architecture, they are, in fact, an attempt to explain the structure of a building deemed by the ancients one of the "Wonders of the World," and in which, as Mr. Newton has suggested, "some new and unlooked for mode of construction" might well be anticipated.

Lieut. Smith states that in the course of excavating the north side of the site of the Mausoleum, a number of squared blocks were found, which from their peculiar appearance and similarity to each other, led him to some curious results with regard to the dimensions and construction of the ancient building. Now, according to Pliny, one of its principal features was a pyramid consisting of 24 steps, which supported on its summit a marble quadriga, while the edifice itself was 63 feet long on the north and south sides, somewhat shorter on the fronts, had a circumference of 411 feet, was 25 cubits in height, and was surrounded by 36 columns. Pliny further states, that, with the addition of the quadriga, the entire height of the building was 140 feet. The height of the pyramidal portion was the same as that of the lower part, and must therefore have been 25 cubits, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet high.

It is probable, from the way in which they were dressed, that the blocks of marble above mentioned formed the steps of this pyramid; and the position in which they were discovered, proved that they had fallen from a height; while, as they were intermixed with the fragments of the colossal horse, it is reasonable to suppose that they must have been connected with it.

These blocks have a uniform depth of $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches,

but in breadth there are two classes,—some being 2 and others 3 feet broad. Their lengths too vary, but average 4 feet. One of the long sides, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, is polished, and forms the face of the step; the upper side has one part polished and the other rough-cut, so that the polished surface would serve for the tread of the step, and the rough portion for the overlapping part of the next step above. Again, it may be remarked that in every instance the boundary of the polished and rough-cut parts, is clearly defined by a well marked line, parallel to the edge of the step, so that the two polished surfaces, forming respectively the face and the tread of the step, are adjacent to each other. The upper side of each block has a large flange, about 6 inches broad, at the back, extending the whole length of the stone; and on the lower side a groove, corresponding in its dimensions to the flange on the upper side. This groove passes longitudinally along the stone, and is the same distance from the face that the large flange is from the line, marking the boundary of the polished and rough-cut parts of the upper side. A slight examination will clearly show how one step has rested on another, as the large flange on the upper side fits exactly into the longitudinal groove on the under side of the step above. But further, by an accurate measurement of these steps, combined with Pliny's account, it is possible to discover, not only the nature of the construction, but even the size of the pyramid. The measurements of the face and the tread of the step, give respectively the height and breadth of each, and as there were twenty-four of them, we have at once the three dimensions of the pyramid, viz. its height, its length, and its breadth. The height is

evidently $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches $\times 24 = 23\frac{1}{2}$ feet ; and, if, from the size of the horse found among these blocks, 14 feet is a reasonable height for the chariot, the whole height will be $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet + 14 feet = $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet: this is, curiously enough, exactly the 25 cubits of Pliny.

Again, by the measurement of the tread of the steps, we obtain the length and the breadth. Now this tread, in all the steps, is uniformly either 1′ 9″ or 1′ 5″. It follows, therefore, that the two opposite sides of the pyramid had respectively 1′ 9″ and 1′ 5″ for the breadth of their steps. It is no slight corroboration of this theory, that several corner-stones have been found, in which these two dimensions occur, on the adjacent sides, and, therefore, at right angles the one to the other. Now 1′ 9″ × 24 = 42 feet, is the horizontal distance of the highest step on one side from the extremity of the base on the same side of the pyramid, and as the distance is the same on the opposite side, the whole length must be 84 feet. To this however we must add the length of the chariot-platform on the top, which is indeed uncertain, but was probably not less than 24 feet. The total length of the base of the pyramid will then be 84 + 24 = 108 feet.

In the same way, from the other dimension, viz. 1′ 5″, we obtain the breadth, and assuming 18 feet for the narrower width of the chariot-platform, we get, for this (the narrower) base of the pyramid,

$$2\,(24 \times 1'\,5'') + 18 = 86 \text{ feet.}$$

It has been usual for modern architects to assume Pliny's 63 feet as the measure of the *longest side of the whole building*, and to consider the "*totus circuitus*," or 411 feet, as that of the *peribolus*. But if the base of the pyramid really measured 108 by 86 feet,

(and it could hardly have been less), the longer side of the structure that supported it must have been more than 63 feet. It is likely, then, that the 411 feet is the measure of the *building* itself, and that the 63 feet is that of the longer side of the *cella*. Now, Hyginus calls the *total circumference* 1,340 feet; this, therefore, we may consider the real measure of the *peribolus*.

How, then, were Pliny's 36 columns distributed? and will the above numbers give us any clue to their arrangement? Now suppose the *stylobate* of the columns projected 3 feet on each side, beyond the base of the pyramid, we should then have the circumference of the stylobate

$= 2\{108 + (2 \times 3) + 86 + (2 \times 3)\} = 412$ feet,

which agrees almost exactly with the *totus circuitus* of Pliny.

The problem, therefore, is so to distribute the 36 columns over this circumference of 412 feet, as to preserve a uniform intercolumniation on the four sides of the building.

In order to find the intercolumniations, we must first assume the positions of the four corner columns. Now if the edge of the lowest step of the pyramid was just over the centres of the columns, the distances from centre to centre of the four corner columns must be the same as the lengths of the base of the pyramid, or 108 and 86 feet respectively. And if there were eleven columns on the longer side, there would be ten intercolumniations.

On this hypothesis, the space between the centres of the columns would be $\frac{108}{10}$ or 10·8 feet. Again, if there were nine columns in the shorter side, the space required for the eight intercolumniations would be

10·8 × 8 = 86·4 feet, to which must be added the 3 feet of projection of the stylobate at each end beyond the centres of the corner columns.

The total length will then be 92·4 feet, which thus differs only ·4 of a foot from 92 feet, the result formerly calculated from the steps of the pyramid. Again, assuming 3 feet 5½ inches as the diameter of the columns—the mean of the measurements of a great many *frusta*—we get the intercolumniation in terms of the diameter,

$$= \frac{10\cdot8 - 3'5\frac{1}{2}''}{3'5\frac{1}{2}''} = 2\cdot12 \text{ diameters,}$$

a measurement which agrees very well with that of other Ionic buildings.

It is rather a singular coincidence, that this intercolumniation should be exactly the same as that in the Temple of Minerva at Priene, which in other respects bears a great resemblance to the Mausoleum and belongs to the same period, and that the number of columns on the flanks should be the same in both these structures.

Lastly, assuming, as before stated, that Pliny's 63 feet is the length of the longer side of the *cella*, the space between its walls and the edge of the stylobate

$$= \frac{114-63}{2} = 25\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet, which will, of course, be the}$$

same on all the sides.

If then we subtract twice this breadth of 25½ feet from 92 feet, the length of the other side of the stylobate, we get the length of the shorter side of the *cella*, or 41 feet.

It may be objected to this plan, that it leaves the large space of 25½ feet from the edge of the stylo-

bate, or 22½ feet from the centres of the columns to the walls of the *cella* unsupported; but this difficulty may be met by supposing the pyramid to rest on what is termed a *horizontal* arch, supported on one side by the columns, and on the other by the walls of the *cella;* a method of support which, though not, we believe, found in the case of temples, occurs in structures nearly contemporaneous, like the tomb at Mylasa, and therefore shows that the builders of that age were not unacquainted with it.

This tomb, which is only a small distance from Halicarnassus, has its pyramidal roof supported on a principle similar to that of the horizontal arch, and has so many points of resemblance to the Mausoleum, that it has been believed to be a copy of that building on a small scale. In the present instance, such an arch, being concealed from without by the entablature, would not in any way injure the appearance of the building, while the space between a horizontal plane placed on the capitals of the columns, and the under side of the pyramid, is well fitted for it, the span not being too great for the height of the crown.

It ought at the same time to be remembered that the Mausoleum, like the structure at Mylasa, was itself a tomb, and therefore that the rigid laws which governed the temple-architecture may not have been deemed necessary in its case. Again the description of its appearance by the poet Martial,

"Aëre nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea,"

would seem to correspond better with the proposed arrangement, than with one in which the pyramid was supported in the more usual manner, by architraves.

If Pliny's measurements be correct, the height of the order will be 37½ feet, and this, added to the 37½ feet of the pyramid and chariot, gives a height of 75 feet. The total height of the whole structure is said to have been 140 feet, which leaves a space of 65 feet below the bases of the columns; a proportional height (as compared with that of the entire edifice) which agrees very well with what was customary in case of tombs like those in Lycia, at Mylasa, and at Souma in Algeria. This basement was probably ornamented with one or more friezes, and may have had statues at intervals, with lions at the corners.

In concluding this brief abstract of the more important parts of Lieut. Smith's plan, I make this only remark, that whatever the professed architect may say to it, the coincidence of the measurements thus obtained with those given by Pliny, is, to my mind, too remarkable to be the result of accident.

Since this paper was originally read, the whole of the sculptures to which it refers have arrived in England, and have been placed, with the exception of some small fragments, in a temporary gallery constructed under the colonnade of the principal façade of the Museum. In this place, workmen have been engaged for several months, under the superintendence of the officers of the Department of Antiquities, and with the aid of Mr. Richard Westmacott, in sorting, identifying, and rejoining the fragments of statues and bas-reliefs, and in placing such of these objects as could be joined together, in positions where they may be seen by the public. The most important of these results have been, the uniting the pieces of the two colossal horses, which were at first supposed to be several portions of

one horse. I must remark that they have been lately removed from the position in which they were first placed, so that they do not now "exhibit to the critic points of similarity and incongruity, or suggest to the eye of the ordinary visitor the general proportions which the horse, if perfect, would have presented:" and that I trust this arrangement will therefore soon be reversed.

Several portions of the Amazonian equestrian figure, have been now successfully joined, so that a tolerable idea can be formed of the exquisite beauty which this grand sculpture must once have exhibited. It has been suggested that the subject represents a man in Asiatic costume, similar to that of the Persians on the frieze of the temple of the Wingless Victory at Athens. The execution is more highly finished than that of the colossal horses, and the drapery of the rider is little, if at all, inferior to that of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon.

Another and most interesting work has been the completion, from a great number of pieces, of two colossal figures, one male and the other female. In the first, which, there is little doubt, represents the king Mausolus, we have the earliest example of Greek portrait statuary which has yet been discovered. In the second we have either a statue of Artemisia, the foundress of the Mausoleum, erected probably after her death, or that of some goddess. Both show a grand and noble style, and fully bear out all the encomiums which Mr. Newton pronounced on the fragments when he first dug them out; both alike show a remarkable grandeur and simplicity of conception, and an admirable knowledge of the composition of drapery.

The female statue has unfortunately lost her head. Besides these, many of the slabs of the frieze have been carefully put together, and have been arranged in a continuous line under the colonnade, together with those presented to the Museum some years ago by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. As might have been expected, the portions discovered by Mr. Newton having been preserved from the action of the weather by the earth that covered them, are much less injured than those which had been built into the Castle wall. Seen as they may now be together, the visitor can form a good idea of what their beauty must once have been, how varied their conception, how exquisite their modelling, and how valuable a series they really are as an illustration of a period of which we had previously possessed but few artistic records. I may add, that besides these grander sculptures, eight lions have been more or less completely put together,—that in more than one instance, the head of a lion which had been for centuries built into the castle, has been reunited to a body excavated by Mr. Newton, and that I am not without hope, by continued study of these valuable fragments, many other portions of the frieze, which are still very defective, may be rendered much more complete.

I shall now give some notice of Mr. Newton's discoveries at

Branchidæ.

The Temple of Apollo Didymæus, at Branchidæ, and the Sacred Way, from which Mr. Newton has procured the remarkable group of sculptures to which I now invite the attention of the Society, is at once one of the most memorable sites in the ancient history of the

Ionian or Asiatic Greeks, and one likely, *à priori*, to repay the labour of excavation.

Known in Greek history from the earliest period of which we have any record;—the site of a shrine and of an oracle, second in sanctity and importance to that of Delphi only, so highly valued at a remote period that Pharaoh Necho dedicated to its god Apollo the dress in which he had conquered at Cadytis, while Crœsus sent offerings to it (ere his war with Cyrus) equal in weight with those he gave to Delphi; partially destroyed by Darius, and more completely by Xerxes, its sacred family of priests, called the Branchidæ, having on this occasion been carried away to Sogdiana by the conqueror;—yet reviving again in renewed splendour towards the close of the Peloponnesian War, and preserving in its temple—the largest in Asiatic Greece after that of Ephesus—for many subsequent ages the fame it had so early acquired;—memorable too for a succession of oracles ascending to a period before the commencement of history, but not wholly extinct even so late as the time of Julian the Apostate,—it were strange, indeed, should such a site retain no relic its past greatness, or of the long period of time during which it had a marked pre-eminence among the shrines of the Greek people.

Many travellers who preceded Mr. Newton have spoken of the ruins of the temple and of the statues in the Sacred Way, and from the narratives of Wheler (who was there so early as 1685), Sir W. Gell, Colonel Leake—the author of the 'Ionian Antiquities' published by the Dilettanti Society,—and Mr. Hamilton, much interesting information may be gathered. It was left, however, to Mr. Newton to form the only com-

plete excavations which have ever been made on this celebrated spot. The position of the sculptured figures Mr. Newton has brought away was as follows:—

The Temple of Apollo Didymæus, now in complete ruins, was approached from the sea, distant about two miles, by a "SACRED WAY," on each side of which has been a row of seated statues, sepulchral *sori*, tombs, etc. This way forms part of an unenclosed tract to the north-east of the temple, and is marked by a ridge, extending in a direction south-east to north-west; along this ridge Mr. Newton discovered eight seated statues, composed generally of a single block of Parian marble, about 4 feet 6 inches high by 2 feet 9 inches broad and deep. They were all partially buried by the accumulation of earth—some up to their necks, some only to their laps. The character of their workmanship is, at the first glance, strikingly Egyptian; they are seated, with their feet all but touching, and their hands on their knees, as is usual in the Egyptian statues of Pasht; their drapery extends from the shoulders to the feet, and consists of the Talaric *chiton*, surmounted by the *peplos*. There is, however, considerable difference in the arrangement of this drapery. Only one of the figures retains its head, and in others, other portions are wanting. There is, however, on the whole, a remarkable uniformity of expression, and the treatment is that usually recognized as the most archaic Greek. The wrist bones, and the muscles of the arms and chest, are readily discernible; and the hair, in the one figure whose head remains, is arranged in long parallel tresses, as on the most ancient of the coins of Syracuse. Four other similar statues were subsequently discovered near the same spot,

though not in a line with the previous eight; of these three are clearly statues of females. With two exceptions, they all belong to the same period of art; and even these two which I except, are probably not more than fifty years later. Mr. Newton states that it was evident that none of them occupied exactly their original position, and that they must at some time or other have been thrown down; an opinion which was subsequently confirmed by his discovery of a small portion, about eighty feet, of the original paving of the Sacred Way, and of some bases or pedestals, which he conjectures, with much reason, have formed the original bases on which these statues were placed. The Sacred Way may still be traced for about 580 yards, the whole distance being marked by the remains of archaic monuments. Portions of a wall extend along it nearly the whole distance; but this wall, with some exceptions, Mr. Newton believes to be of a period long subsequent to the date of the statues. There are, however, here and there masses of polygonal masonry containing individual stones of immense size, and these he presumes to be relics of an original and contemporaneous Hellenic wall. The road appears to have been about 25 feet broad, and to have been constructed originally in the form of a platform or terrace.

At 118 paces from the last of the statues, Mr. Newton discovered a colossal lion and sphinx, the latter a female: both were much injured, but exhibited that grandeur of treatment so characteristic of the earlier Greek works. The sphinx was completely buried under the earth, but the lion had been recently uncovered. I regret to add that the barbarous Greek inhabitants of the neighbouring village have done much injury to

this lion with their knives since it was exhumed, and that Mr. Newton's Turkish guard was unable to prevent them from taking every opportunity to deface these relics of the more ancient and nobler population.

The important question arises, to what period are these works to be ascribed, and are there any data remaining from which we can arrive at even an approximate conclusion at this subject? Now in the way of direct evidence we have literally none, for though history often mentions the two temples at this spot, and Herodotus himself speaks of the Sacred Way which led from the sea to the temple, we have (strangely enough) no record of these statues. The probable reason for this is that they are earlier than the destruction of the temple by the Persians (at which period they were overthrown, and partially destroyed), and that since then they have been so covered by earth, and the abundant vegetation of the neighbourhood, as to have almost entirely escaped notice.

Yet, in spite of the silence of history, we have a considerable amount of indirect evidence, afforded by the monuments themselves, sufficient, in my mind, for the determination of their age, within tolerably accurate limits. In the first place, we have the character of their Art, to which I have already alluded, and which is unquestionably very archaic. Secondly, on three of the chairs are inscriptions in the oldest Greek type, written *boustrophedon*. Thirdly, in close connection with them, is a long and curious inscription on the side of the recumbent lion (probably the oldest of them all), and another very ancient inscription on a detached piece of stone, perhaps the base of a statue or statues now lost.

The inscriptions are as follows.

On the side of one of the chairs,—

ƧΟΧϘ^{A} ƧΗƧΟΙΧΙƎΤ ƧΟΙƧƎΛꓘΟΙΜΙƎƧΗϘΑΧ
Α[Γ]ΑΛ[Μ]Α[Τ]Ο--ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ (Boustrophedon.)

On a second, a few letters scarcely visible, but perhaps,—

ΥΠ' ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ

On the back of a third, ΝΙΚΗ ΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ (though this inscription appears to me to be somewhat more recent).

Fourthly on the upper side of a large block of stone,—

ΟΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟ ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΤΟΜ ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧ...
ƧΗΛꓘΙΨϘƎΤƎΔƎƧΗΙΟΠƎΝΑƧƎΘ .....
(Boustrophedon.)

and, on the under side, the names of Anaximander and Terpsicles. Lastly, on the side of the lion,—

ΤΑ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΔΕ ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ ΟΙΓΥ
ƧΗΛΑ[Θ]ƧΟΛƎΧϘΑƧΙƧƎΔΙΑ⅂ ƧΟΝΩΘ
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΙΚ[Λ]ΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ Λ[Υ]
ΙΩΤ ΝΗΤ[Α]ꓘΙƎΔ Ƨ^{Ω}ƎΛΒΑΝΑ ΙΑꓘ ƧΟΙƧ
ΓΟΛΩΝΙ (Boustrophedon.)

Besides these, there existed a few years since another seated figure, on the chair of which was the following inscription, which has been copied by Sir W. Gell, Mr. Cockerell, and others, and published by Rose and Boeckh. It was as follows:

.... ΜΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ ΗΜ
ΝƎꓘΗΘƎΝΑ ƧΑƎ
ΑΜΑ....Ω...Π
ΙΝΩΛΛΟ (Boustrophedon.)

The third line would seem to have been indistinct;

and hence has been variously rendered by different editors.

I regret that Mr. Newton should have been unable to discover any trace of this figure, which must therefore have been broken up within the last forty years.

Lord Aberdeen obtained from this neighbourhood another fragment, on which the word *ἀνδριάντας* was plainly legible.

Now it is not necessary for me here to enter into any discussion with regard to the inscriptions I have quoted above, or to determine whether every individual name has been quite accurately deciphered. It is sufficient to state, what will, indeed, be admitted by all palæographers, that the writing on these monuments belongs to the very earliest Greek period; and that though the long vowels *H* and *Ω* do occur, they are delineated according to the oldest form with which we are acquainted. The same remark applies to the forms adopted for the *Θ*, *Λ*, *Σ*, *E*, *P*, *X*, and *Ξ*. If then we had nothing but the characters to go by, we should not, I believe, err greatly, in assigning a date as early as B.C. 500 to the execution of these works.

There are however some other suggestions derived from the names recorded on these inscriptions, which may perhaps enable us to fix their date with even greater precision. Thus upon the lion inscription we find the name Hegesander, and another, which though the first letter has been destroyed by an injury the stone has received, must, I think, with Mr. Newton, be unquestionably read as that of Thales. Again, on another stone, there is, as we have seen, the name of Anaximander. Now it is at least remarkable, that on two stones found close together, and immediately ad-

joining the most sacred temple in the Milesian territory, the names of two of the most celebrated of the philosophers of Miletus should be preserved. If these then be really the names of the philosophers Thales and Anaximander, who joined with other citizens of their native town in dedicating the figure of the lion, and the statue or offering to which the second inscription was once attached, (and I am at a loss to see any more probable conjecture), the date of these works is limited to about B.C. 570–560. Anaximander, we know, was the pupil of Thales, and was born B.C. 610. With regard to the other name, Hegesander, it is scarcely less probable that it may be that of a citizen of Miletus whom Herodotus states (I. 143) was the father of Hecatæus. Now as Hecatæus was born B.C. 520, the dates we have assumed above for these inscriptions would synchronize remarkably with that of his father Hegesander.

But I must not pursue this subject any further now, as I have yet to say somewhat of Mr. Newton's researches at Cnidus. I will only add, that whatever may be the date ultimately determined by English or foreign scholars for these remarkable sculptures, about one thing there can be no question, that they are among the earliest remains of Greek art which have been as yet discovered. Hitherto nearly all Greek art would seem to be derivable from Assyrian models; and though monuments not unlike these may be seen on the rock-sculptures discovered by Mr. Layard at Malthaiyah, in that land, still I cannot see, as I believe my friend Mr. Layard fancied he saw, any direct resemblance between these and the Assyrian types: so far as they resemble any other style, they seem to me

to have a greater resemblance to some of the Egyptian monuments. On the other hand, those who are acquainted with the sculptures on the Harpy tomb from Lycia, for which we are indebted to the zeal of Sir Charles Fellows; or have seen the relief from Samothrace, in the Louvre; or that bearing the inscription Ἔργον Ἀριστοκλέος in the Theseium at Athens, will recall in their minds many similarities of treatment, greater, I believe, than any that can be suggested between them and the remains of either Egypt or Assyria.

3. Cnidus.

The ruins of ancient Cnidus, which Mr. Newton visited toward the completion of his labours at the Mausoleum, have yielded sufficient monuments of interest to fully justify the amount of time and labour which has been spent there; though from what is known of this once celebrated place, we might perhaps have anticipated a collection yet more valuable than has as yet been acquired. It ought not however to be forgotten, that the existing remains extend over a very wide area; that they are covered almost everywhere by an exceedingly luxurious and dense vegetation of brushwood; that there is little above the surface to suggest the fittest place for excavation; and, above all, that a comparatively small portion of the entire ground has as yet been submitted to Mr. Newton's examination.

The situation of Cnidus at the south-west corner of Asia Minor, was peculiarly favourable to the early development of its mercantile greatness, protected as it was on the west by a bold headland called Triopium

(now Cape Crio), and possessing as it did two harbours, separated only by the small peninsula which joins this promontory to the mainland. It appears that Triopium was sacred, in an especial manner, to Apollo, but that there were also temples to Neptune and the Nymphs. It is probable that, in common with many other towns in its neighbourhood, Cnidus enjoyed, in early times, the advantage of a trade with Egypt. It is not, however, mentioned in history till the wars between Cyrus and Western Asia, when it submitted, without a blow, to the arms of his general Harpagus. Subsequently we find it constantly noticed: thus, in the second Persian War, Cnidus contributed a few ships to the armament of Xerxes; and some years later, in B.C. 466, received into its harbours the victorious Athenian fleet under Cimon. Towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, it joined the other allies of the Athenians, who had revolted from them after their failure in Sicily. In the wars of the Romans with Antiochus, it took the part of the Seleucidan prince; while it was the scene, at a later time, of those conflicts whereby Pompey at length put an end to the long successful piracies of the neighbouring coasts.

Cnidus was especially famous in ancient times for its love of fine works of art, and for the successful cultivation of some branches of sculpture. Its pottery, consisting mainly of small figures, allusive to the worship of Venus—the well-known *κεράμια Κνίδια*—are constantly alluded to in antiquity. Pausanias tells us how among the treasures preserved at Delphi, none were more remarkable than the pictures of Polygnotus, presented to the Lesche at that place by the Cnidians: while strangers came from afar, so Lucian declares, to

see the statues of Bacchus and Minerva, by Bryaxis and Scopas (two of the sculptors of the Mausoleum), and what was deemed the most perfect embodiment of earthly beauty, the Venus of Praxiteles, the "Regina Cnidi Paphique." The history of this celebrated statue is well known; it remained, from the time of Praxiteles, the glory of Cnidus, till the reign of Theodosius, who removed it to Constantinople, where it had not been long when it was totally destroyed by fire, in A.D. 475, during the reign of Leo Basiliscus.

We might reasonably suppose, that a city so pre-eminently the promoter and the guardian of the finest works of art, would have left behind it considerable remains of value. And that this is the case, the elaborate description of it in the 'Ionian Antiquities,' published at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti, would seem to demonstrate. From the report in that work, it may be gathered that thirty years ago there were still visible on this site a colonnade of the Doric order, with a Doric portico, two temples, one a beautiful tetrastyle, one of the Corinthian order; three theatres, one 400 feet wide, but much decayed, another about half the size, but still retaining its seats quite perfect; an Ionic structure, 190 feet long by 90 wide; a citadel in good repair, the ancient walls of which have been since traced all round it by Mr. Hamilton; and a necropolis, wherein were still remaining many tombs of gigantic proportions.

Mr. Newton commenced his excavations by an examination of a raised platform or terrace which, for many reasons, he conjectured to have formed part of the *temenos*, or sacred enclosure of the Temple of Demeter and Persephone; nor was he long in discovering,

near the surface, a beautiful female head of good work, the hair fastened back by an ornament called the *opisthosphendone*, as on the Syrian coins between B.C. 300–250. The head was slightly under life-size, and had been broken off at the neck; the hand and arm and several small pieces of this figure were subsequently found. Shortly after this he came upon another female head rather larger than life, belonging to a statue to which it had been once fitted into a round socket. This head was in excellent condition, and, in Mr. Newton's opinion, is a noble specimen of the best period of Greek art, not unworthy of being placed alongside the Venus of Milo, to whose school it belongs. On an inscription found near it, the word ἄγαλμα occurs, perhaps, in reference to it, while close to it were several thin, but nearly decayed sheets of lead, which were used to obtain a perfect level for bases of statues. Many fragments of inscriptions, and several inscribed limestone bases, were found along the same platform, evidently those of statues which had once stood there. All these fragments were found in a line extending east and west, and, from the character of the letters of the inscriptions, must belong to a period between B.C. 400–350.

On pursuing his excavations in this *temenos*, Mr. Newton, after some weeks, lighted upon the entrance to a large chamber, in which he discovered a great variety of miscellaneous antiquities. Among these were seven bases, evidently the supports of former statues, and measuring about 14 inches by 12. On some of them were the remains of *stelæ;* on others, hollowed spaces for the reception of the feet of statues. They were all of limestone, and the majority of them in-

scribed with dedications to Demeter, in the Doric dialect. Besides these, he found many other objects connected with the worship of this deity, as three boar-pigs, a calathus, a head of Diana Venatrix, and a large collection of votive breasts sculptured in marble. Below this mass of objects, which were strewed along the upper surface of the ground and, in Mr. Newton's opinion, belong to the period B.C. 370–320, a layer of lamps, *amphoriskoi*, Samian-ware vessels, hair-pins of bone, bodkins of ivory, glass bottles and rods of transparent blue and white glass, were found all intermingled. These were probably of late, if not of Roman times. With them were found a considerable number of marble tablets, each pierced with a single small hole, and retaining traces of polish and colour. The bottles were generally from 3 to 7 inches long, and were found regularly packed in rows. Out of a large number which had been broken, Mr. Newton was able to select and to send home forty-four unbroken specimens. It was evident that these later remains had been deposited where they were found before the chamber had fallen in. Mr. Newton conjectures that the chamber had been a treasury, such as it is well known is often found in connection with ancient temples; that the sculptures and inscriptions had originally been attached to its outer walls; and that it was perhaps originally vaulted, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ. An instance analogous to this he had in fact discovered some time previously when excavating at Budrum. It was clear that the chamber, whatever it may have been, had never been subsequently disturbed, the edges of the fractured stones being quite sharp and clean. Among

the relics strewn along the floor were a large number of the bones of fowls and of young pigs, the latter of which would naturally be met with in a place sacred to Demeter and Persephone, and, as such, are the common type on the coins of Eleusis, in Attica.

Having completed his excavations in the *temenos* of Demeter, Mr. Newton turned his attention to other ruins within the walls, and cleared out more than one of the theatres which had been previously in part examined by the agents of the Society of Dilettanti. His exertions however on this ground did not reward him with many discoveries, it being obvious that all the finer works had been removed, probably to Constantinople, in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. Almost all the relics, indeed, he met with in these excavations, were of an inferior and Roman type. In one small theatre, which he partially cleared out, and which from inscriptions found there he has called the Odeum, he discovered what must have been the stage, in a perfect state, with the projecting portion on which the performers stood, exactly as it may be seen in some of the comic scenes on the Græco-Etruscan vases.

He then proceeded to examine more carefully the site of the necropolis, from which he had reason to expect that his researches would tend to important discoveries, and, with this view, commenced on a tomb which is noticed in the Admiralty Chart as a little to the west of the ancient wall. Though not very productive in antiquities, Mr. Newton's account of the form and character of this great sepulchre shows that it must once have been a very remarkable monument. It was, he says, not unlike in form to the earliest Christian churches, being constructed with a central

chamber, a vestibule, and an apse or alcove at the south end. On each side were smaller apses, and before each of these again a marble sarcophagus, 9 feet long. In one of the alcoves there had been once a marble statue, the lower half of which was still remaining, *in situ*, the rest on the floor before it having been carried down by the fall of the roof. Almost all this statue was subsequently discovered, and has been subsequently re-united in the Museum. Mr. Newton considers it to be of Roman times, the more so, as in front of it a large number of Roman lamps, all unglazed, and of little merit as regards workmanship, were found. The sarcophagi too exhibit good Roman work of the time of Domitian, but had suffered too much to be worthy of removal; their tops having been in most cases completely crushed in by the fall of the roof, and their sides forced apart in several places by the roots of brushwood that had grown up around them.

These sarcophagi must once have been magnificent specimens of the decorative style of their day, though they exhibit the decay of real taste in the lavish prodigality of ornament with which they have been covered. Each of their sides was adorned with festoons of flowers, supported at the angles by Cupids, in a rich but coarse style. In the earth around were many fragments of Greek inscriptions, nearly all of them those of decrees by the senate and people of Cnidus. From one of them Mr. Newton has conjectured, I think with reason, that the tomb was originally erected in honour of a certain Lykæthus, as the inscription records decrees in his favour by show of hands (χειροτονία) at the festival of the Greater Dionysia,—the erection of a

tatue to him at the public expense,—and the appoint-
ıent of Neikephorus, the son of Sophron, for the ex-
cution of this duty. It is not certain to what period
ykæthus ought to be assigned, but the sarcophagi
nd Roman remains are clearly long subsequent to the
riginal construction of the tomb.

Having completed a general survey of the remains
f the actual town of Cnidus, and of its cemetery, Mr.
Newton turned his attention to the villages in the
eighbourhood, all of which contain some ancient re-
cs: and it was thus that his most fortunate and
aluable discovery was made—namely, that of the Co-
OSSAL LION, which may be fairly considered the most
aluable relic he has sent home from his Cnidian re-
earches. He had, he states, heard of the existence of
his lion, on more than one occasion before he arrived
t Cnidus: yet, though he had been there for six
ıonths, he had been nowhere able to discover it. At
ngth it was found by Mr. Pullen, the architect attached
ɔ the Expedition, at a distance of nearly four miles
om Cnidus, in a position such that, except by a happy
ccident, it might easily have remained for a much
ıger time undiscovered.

The exact place in which the lion was found may
erhaps be recognized upon the Admiralty chart. On
is it will be observed that, to the east of Cnidus, the
ɔast gradually trends away so as to form a small
ay, from which project two promontories; beyond
ese is a bold headland, forming the east end of the
ay, exactly opposite to, and about three miles from
ape Crio. On the summit of a cliff, forming part
f this mainland, are the ruins of an ancient tomb,
verlooking the sea towards Cnidus. On the east side,

the slope from this eminence is gradual, the upper portion being completely strewn with the remains of the tomb; on the west, a little below where the lion was found, is a sheer precipice of 300 feet into the sea. The lion was lying on his right side, on the edge of the rocky slope overhanging the sea, with his back to the south, his left or upper side having suffered much from exposure to the weather, but with his right or under side still quite fresh. He was composed, together with the base on which he reposes, of one piece of Parian marble, and measures nearly 10 feet in length, by 6 in height. He has been sculptured in a crouching position, and has only lost his lower jaw, left hind leg, and fore paws; of these, the latter have been originally carved out of a separate piece of marble. He has fallen in one solid mass, and has not been otherwise injured by a fall of more than 60 feet. His present weight is about six tons.

This lion is probably a work rather anterior to the Mausoleum. When compared with the lions from that edifice, it exhibits a more severe and majestic style, less rich and flowing, perhaps, but more suitable for colossal sculpture. Its effect in the position where it was placed must have been singularly impressive.

Having made all necessary preparations for removing the lion, preparations which we rejoice to say have been entirely successful,—Mr. Newton turned his attention to an examination of the tomb itself, on the top of which he reasonably presumed the lion must originally have been placed, and a most interesting account it is that he has given of his excavations around this remarkable structure. He states that the tomb itself is an exact square, 39 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches each way, and that

it has once supported a pyramidal mass, on the top of which the lion was recumbent. Its present height is about 17 feet, the four lower feet being composed of immense blocks of marble, on which rest eleven courses of travertine; the outside was originally faced with marble, and has been surrounded by a peristyle, the whole of which has now fallen. On the west, which is the most perfect, a portion of the lower step of the stylobate still remains; under this stylobate the native rock has been levelled to receive the superstructure. The upper surface of the step has a tread of 13 inches width by 12½ inches depth. The columns have been *engaged*, and at the back are toothed into the masonry; most of them are only blocked out, but some are fluted, and exhibit the peculiarities of the earliest Doric style in their extraordinary solidity and massiveness, and in the severity of their treatment. No data have been found whence the exact height of the columns can be determined, nor any certain evidence of the space between the columns. A great number of what Mr. Newton believes to be the steps of the pyramid, were found among the ruins; their average breadth is about 14½ inches for the tread; but as on one angle-step one tread was 13½ inches and the other only 10½, it would seem that this pyramid, like that of the Mausoleum, was oblong—a form which would suit best for the support of the lion. On the north side a large slab was found, 5 feet 4 inches long, and partially hollowed at the top: this Mr. Newton thinks may have formed part of the base of the lion.

It is most likely that the primary cause of the ruin of this tomb was an earthquake, but it is also clear, from the shattered state of some of the stones, that it

must also have been subjected to the violence of plunderers, who have torn up as much of the internal pavement as they could move, in the hope of plunder. The inner chamber has been entered by a doorway from the north, the jambs of which still exist, though much defaced. The interior must have been shaped like a bee-hive, and must therefore have resembled the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ, and the tombs recently opened at Kertch (the ancient Panticapæum). The top had been closed in by one immense block, 6 feet 3½ inches long, 5 feet 4 inches broad, and 2 feet 2 inches thick; and as the upper side was somewhat broader than the lower, it must have been dropped into its position, like the bung of a gigantic cask, after the rest of the building had been constructed. The chamber itself was circular, and about 17 feet in diameter; in its sides are a series of openings, which expand outwards like embrasures: no doubt θῆκαι for bodies, an arrangement Mr. Newton has also noticed at Halicarnassus, and at Pylæ, in Cos. These openings were completely filled up with rubbish, but on removing this away, Mr. Newton found a quantity of human bones. The ruins are scattered for more than 40 feet on all sides of the monument; but no traces of inscription were found. Mr. Newton considers that this remarkable monument cannot be later than B.C. 350, while it may have been earlier; and that it was probably a *polyandrion*, or the memorial of many citizens who had fallen in battle. It could hardly indeed have been the private tomb of any one individual, as, at so early a period, a jealous republic like Cnidus, would hardly have permitted the erection of such a structure. The interments, of which he found the bones,

may easily belong to a more recent age. To what period then can it with any probability be assigned?

Now there are two events of great importance in the early history of Cnidus, and two only, to either of which it can be reasonably referred. The first is the repulse of the Athenians by the people of Cnidus, in B.C. 412; and secondly, the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, by Conon, in B.C. 394. It is not however certain that in the latter action, though it took place off Cnidus, any Cnidians were themselves engaged. It is not unlikely that this monument was erected in remembrance of the former event, an event of great glory to the people of Cnidus. The view from it is very fine, and commands to the west Cnidus and Cos, and to the south Nisyros, Telos, and Rhodes; and it must have been for centuries as familiar to the Greek and Phœnician mariners as was subsequently the Colossus of Rhodes. To the north, and further inland, are two other tombs, of a construction precisely similar, but much inferior in size. Each of these exhibits the same general type, which can hardly be the result of chance, and is so placed as to command the other: Mr. Newton has hence conjectured that they may have also served the purpose of watch-towers.

I have now laid before the Society a *résumé*, which I know is exceedingly imperfect, of Mr. Newton's researches in Asia Minor, not without the hope that my hearers will have felt much interest in the narrative, condensed though it has been necessarily, so as in some cases to have become, I fear, obscure. They must indeed consider it simply as an outline of what he has accomplished—a skeleton of the picture, which I trust the artist himself will subsequently fill up.

Such however as it is, it may perhaps suffice to give some idea of the zeal and devotion Mr. Newton has exhibited in the cause of Archæology, and I am sure that the willing thanks of this Society will be offered to their distinguished member and to the two successive Governments of this country, who have been ready at all times to afford him the most liberal support, not only in the payment of the sums expended in excavating, but also by providing large and efficient vessels for the homeward transport of the invaluable monuments he had discovered.

W. S. W. VAUX,

Honorary Secretary to R.S.L.

XIII.—A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF BÜRGERMEISTER WULLENWEBER.

BY PATRICK M'CHOMBACH DE COLQUHOUN, LL.D.

(Read June 28th, 1854, and July 12th, 1854.)

Of the great men that flourished in the sixteenth century, few are more worthy of mention than Jürgen Wullenweber, not only on account of the compass of mind by which he raised himself to the supreme command of one of the most powerful maritime States of the age, but for the capacity with which he conducted the government of the Queen of the Hanse League till his fall, and the influence he exercised on the reformatory religious party of his day.

Many facts relating to this period, and hitherto slumbering in the archives of the northern Teutonic places, have been brought to light by the industry of M. von Alten, one of the chamberlains, and private librarian of H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, and arranged with such judgment and skill as to throw great light upon the history of an age when religion was more especially made a cloak by designing men for the furtherance of private ends. In this object Martin Luther and Jürgen Wullenweber may be looked upon as a duality; the latter inferior to the former in

respect of originality, but superior in daring unscrupulousness; inferior in education, his empire over his fellows showed a mind equal to that of the great mover of religious discord, checked only by the popular form of the very government which had been the instrument of his rapid greatness.

Had Wullenweber been born a prince instead of the son of a simple citizen of Hamburg, he would probably have not proved inferior to Maurice of Saxony, while his end might have been as glorious and his fame as enduring as that of that brave Prince.

In the age in which Wullenweber lived, the Hanseatic Confederation enjoyed at home and abroad the greatest respect and consideration.

The year 1241 may be considered as the commencement of the Hanseatic League, a confederacy of populous and commercial cities bound by constitutional ties similar to that of the republics of Italy which had preceded it. The rising commerce of the maritime municipalities of that period, suggested the necessity of mutual protection from the exactions of the surrounding princes, and from those noble pirates who extended their depredations to the Bay of Biscay, but whose stronghold was more particularly in the Baltic sea.

Lübeck was the head of this league, and in virtue of her position, her chief magistrate was, *ex officio*, president of the whole Confederation.

As commerce was found to flourish under this system, volunteers flocked in, willing to pay liberal contributions for the protection in which they would participate, so that these Hanse States reached at the zenith of their power the great number of eighty-three.

It was to these cities that the English were indebted for their first knowledge of commerce; and so necessary did they soon become to their customers, that privileges were granted to them not enjoyed even by the natives of our island, and a species of colony or factory planted within the pale of London, with the capacity of possessing landed property, under an Act of Parliament passed expressly for that purpose. The internal government of these cities was carried on through the guilds which formed the *curiæ* upon which, among other things, the same duties devolved as upon those of ancient Rome; so that money and troops were readily raised for the general purposes of the State, without the direct interference of the Council or Senate in matters of detail. Again, each city in its entirety stood as to the whole League in the position of a *curia;* and from the contributions of these corporate bodies to the supreme government arose the term 'Hansa,' an old German word which has probably been rightly conjectured to be equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon word *geldan*, 'to pay.'

In the year 1533, Wullenweber, then a simple citizen, thought he saw a favourable opportunity of confirming the power of the great Hansa, then at the height of its influence, and with the inward feeling of his competency for the task, he sought about for means to his end. The religious dissensions of the epoch furnished him with these, and he immediately set about his work by inoculating the persons of his guild with the sentiments of the Reformation. Having made some progress in this enterprise, Jürgen Wullenweber now came forward as the leader of the democratic party at Lübeck, while his brother Joachim

assumed the same position at Hamburg, maintaining the most active correspondence with each other; indeed Von Alten mentions a conspiracy, alluded to as existent at that period, headed by the two brothers in their respective cities, and having for its object a simultaneous attack on the Senates of both cities in the month of April, 1533; but the author appears not to consider the evidence of this fact to be conclusive.

Had religious fanaticism however not been rampant at this period, Wullenweber would have stood little chance of succeeding in the political revolution he subsequently brought about.

The patricians of Lübeck were at that time strongly attached to the old Catholic party, while the plebeian class was infected with Lutheran opinions. As Wullenweber was in 1530 a member of the Commission of citizens, composed of sixty-four members, on whom the voting of supplies depended, the moment was a most favourable one for the designs of Wullenweber, the more so as the last war with Christian of Sweden and with Holland had exhausted the public treasury, and the governing Bürgermeisters, Bröms, Plönjes, and Falk, felt the necessity of abating somewhat of their dignified reserve, and of condescending to negotiate with the different influential families with the view of obtaining support for the vote of supplies. Their doing so was however to little or no purpose; Bröms received negatives on all sides; for the citizens well knew that the Senate would be obliged to summon the popular body in order to obtain the required vote. Wullenweber and the other leaders of his party, on their side, determined to resist the demand of the Government,

except on conditions of religious freedom and of the publication of the public accounts.

The Senate, privately informed of the dilemma in which it was placed, sent for the forty-eight presidents and principals of the guilds, with whom better success was anticipated,—a result which was far from being realized, for the Commission of forty-eight reiterated the answer of the influential families, and were in consequence dismissed with a speech to the effect "that the Senate was surprised at so many citizens demanding an account of the supplementary budget, and of the expenses of the war against the King Christian, instead of doing that which was much more to the purpose, by caring that the city should not get into disgrace, and by finding ways and means for raising 2,500 guilders, levied by the Emperor on the city for the object of repelling the Turks. With respect to the sect, the Senate neither knew nor cared whether it proceeded from God or the Devil, but the Senate did know the citizens right well who created these difficulties, and would take care that their names should be notified with ignominy."

In so far then the Senate showed a bold front against the Lutheran party, although there is no doubt they were far from being free from the uneasiness they feigned to ignore,—a feeling which must have been increased by the knowledge that the persons who composed the Commission had themselves warned the Senate, but in vain, to avoid any cause of excitement among the body of the citizens.

No course was now left but to summon the municipal *curiæ*, and the 10th of December was fixed for that purpose. On that day the people assembled in

masses before the Senate-house, and all who could, made their way into the Lion's Hall; and in the midst of this confusion, the brewer Joachim Sandow mounted on a form, and called upon the meeting to hold to the recall of the four preachers as a means of coercing the Senate, an appeal which was responded to by a tumultuous affirmative, and a general declaration that the supplies would be refused. Sandow, seizing the favourable moment of public excitement, called for a division, on which no one, except the tailor Peter Bulder, had the courage to support the Senate, and he even was in the end compelled to withdraw from this singular minority.

This manifestation of public feeling was sufficient to indicate to the Senate that which followed. The anchorsmith Borchard Wrede and Sandow, associating themselves with the forty-eight commissioners and eight deputies from the body of citizens, now appeared before the Senate, and declared, as representatives of the forty-eight commissioners, the decision of the body of the citizens. In vain the Senate threatened them with the Imperial displeasure, and informed them that the Duke of Brunswick was commissioned by the Emperor to uphold orthodoxy in the Circle of Nether Saxony, for it was well known that practically this threat was of little importance.

The Senate had nevertheless not abandoned all hopes of success, having been assured by Joshua Heltervol, an influential merchant, that the opposition rested with four or five knots of the lowest *plebs*, and by no means with the respectable portion of the community. In these hopes however the Senate was again doomed to disappointment; for either no such party favourable

to the Senate really existed, or else it was too much intimidated to make any demonstration in support of the unpopular Council; so that after many stormy debates, the Government was compelled to recall the banished priests Welms and Walhof, with the remark, "that it was hoped all parties were now satisfied." In this hope however the Senate was again destined to be disappointed; for the popular body, instead of being satisfied by the concession, on the contrary became more *exigeant*, the agitation being naturally increased by the enmity of the priests of the opposing sects, and the niggardly and scanty degree wherewith the Senate kept its promise. Thus, among other things, it was pretended by that Body that license to preach only had been granted. So that when one of the recalled preachers, Walhof, made use of the German form of baptism, all four were summoned before the Bürgermeisters Bröms and Plönjes, and soundly rated as heretics and mischievous agitators. This occurrence, together with the prohibition by the Catholic clergy of the singing of Protestant hymns, gave rise to new collisions.

Impelled by these troubles, the Senate despatched the brother of Bürgermeister Bröms to the Imperial congress at Augsburg, with orders to solicit a penal mandate for the suppression of heresy in Lübeck, while the Bürgermeister himself sought to obtain for himself the nomination of the Duke of Brunswick as the executor of this decree.

Hitherto Wullenweber had kept himself studiously in the background, though it cannot be doubted that he had been throughout the mainspring of these agitations; he now felt the time was come for taking the

lead. In the meantime Bröms and the Senate avoided exciting public demonstration, though they nevertheless made use of it as a means of gaining Burgomaster Pakebusch over to their party. Bröms now had resort to other expedients; on the one hand he sought through his agents to bring the Lutheran party into ridicule, and on the other, caused reports to be circulated of extensive preparations on the part of the Senate for crushing the heretical faction by one great blow. The policy of Bröms appears to have been to maintain a feverish excitement and to gain time, in the hope of obtaining the upper hand as soon as the Senate should be in possession of the penal decree, by which he hoped to turn the scale.

The Lutheran party, on the other hand, sought to strengthen its power, and to win a complete victory during the indecision of the Senate, and before the city should be placed under the ban. Which of these two lines of policy would have been successful remains a matter of doubt; an unexpected occurrence however caused the smouldering embers to burst forth into a flame, and thus hastened the catastrophe. On the 29th of June, 1530, at day-dawn, a piece of red cloth was found attached to the bell of disgrace,* on the market-place. This, it was asserted, was the sign of blood, and that the Catholics had made preparations for the massacre of the adherents of the Lutheran heresy. Reports were spread of the Senate having received visits from persons in disguise, and of certain signal-fires on the towers. It was ascertained, in fact, that the Imperial Lieutenant, John Crevet, was pre-

* This bell was tolled when a merchant was declared a fraudulent bankrupt, and on certain other occasions of *infamia*.

pared, with a considerable force at Mölbru, to support the Senate; which, joined to the mission of Bröms to the Imperial camp, sufficed to fill the streets wth armed and excited masses.

The Senate was in the church of St. Maria, where it was met by the deputies of the body of the citizens; while the populace was tumultuously assailing the doors of the Senate-house. Pakebusch, whose dignified character commanded respect, called upon his colleagues to follow him, and forcing his way, with Bröms, among the excited multitude, inquired the cause of the agitation. The merchant Zeleman, and Schepler, the Senate's barber, were accused of being the originators of the disturbance; and thereupon Pakebusch promised that they should be imprisoned, and in testimony of his good faith, entrusted the night patrol to the citizens.

The citizens were however far from being satisfied with these tardy concessions, and the deputies, on the following morning, including Wullenweber, demanded that all the Catholic clergy should be deposed; that the property of the Church should be delivered up; that the monasteries and nunneries should be converted into schools and almshouses, and the ecclesiastical property administered by four citizens. The Senate, after a day's negotiation, was compelled to give way, and as a preliminary measure, to forbid "all reading of Mass, chanting, and ringing," which was loudly proclaimed by the two Senators, Cord Webbeking and Hinrich Castorf. Ecclesiastical persons finding their personal safety threatened, gradually began to quit the town, and tranquillity was restored for the time.

On the 18th of July, the report of the penal decree

having been obtained, gave rise to a revival of the excitement; and this fact turned out to be true: it directed the restoration of the old order of things, the dissolution of the Commission of the sixty-four, and forbade its reconstitution, under a penalty of one hundred marks of gold; lastly, it directed the reinstatement of the Catholic priesthood. This measure was thought, even by Pakebusch, to be too sweeping, and he is reported to have expressed himself to that effect.

The Commission of sixty-four refused, at the instance of Wullenweber, to listen to the penal decree, and demanded that it should be solemnly read in the market-place, as concerning the public at large, and not them only in particular. Consequently the citizens were convened on the 12th of October, and the penal decree was read aloud in the market-overt, with great solemnity. But the Imperial power was no longer what it formerly had been, and the decree was received with contempt and tumult. Bröms was accused of sedition, and jeered at on asserting that he had taken no part in it.

The power of the Senate was now at an end; and Wullenweber, to increase its dilemma, demanded the immediate dissolution of the Commission of sixty-four, in conformity with the decree, well knowing that this being the only medium between the Senate and the masses, the Senate would not venture on the step. By these means he threw the responsibility of disobeying the ordinance on those very persons who had solicited it. Nor had he miscalculated the result of this piece of political tactics: the Senate was obliged to request the Commission to retain office, in the face of the Imperial decree.

In February, 1531, a new compact was entered into, whereby one hundred members were added to the sixty-four, and the governing Burgomaster called upon to declare that the sixty-four retained office only upon the express request of the Senate.

Bröms had however not abandoned all hope of re-establishing the Senate on its former footing, and with this view quitted Lübeck, in the company of Plönjes, on the 6th of April, disguised in an ample cloak, under the protection of the Town-Major Von der Werder, and two armed grenadiers, as the so-termed giants may be designated, and betook himself to the Imperial camp at Brussels, where he was well received by the Emperor, who created him a knight with his own hand, and conferred upon him the rank of a Privy Councillor.

In the morning Lübeck was in a flame, and it was easy to perceive the importance that Wullenweber's party attached to the possession of the persons of the two men who had thus escaped from their control. The excitement was increased by the information given by the Town-Major of the ultimate destination of the two Bürgermeisters, and of the fact that their first visit was paid to the Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, a notorious supporter of the Catholic party. At this embarrassing juncture, Wullenweber alone maintained his coolness, and showed his influence as a pacificator by speedily tranquillizing the excited masses. He ordered the city gates to be strongly guarded, and the Bürgermeisters Pakebusch and Zerken, together with the Senator Kerkerink, to be put under arrest in the Senate-house, on the charge of being implicated in the flight of the two Bürgermeisters, a charge which was however stead-

fastly denied by Pakebusch, upon whom the disgrace of his continued arrest pressed so heavily as to bring this respected old man to a sudden and untimely end.

The citizens now met, and in a tumultuous assembly declared a great proportion of the seats in the Senate vacant, and filled them up with persons who, as Von Alten remarks, "but the day before respectfully doffed their caps to the haughty members of that Body." Nay, they even went to the extent of choosing a plebeian, named Gottschalk Lunte, a Bürgermeister. These changes were scarcely effected when an Imperial herald appeared with a new penal decree; but instead of deference, it was received with tumult by the people, who attacked in revenge, and destroyed, the guildhall of the noble and the mercantile Companies.

We must now cast a glance at Denmark, where the King, Christian II., dethroned in 1523, sought in Holland, under the auspices of Charles V., the means of recovering his kingdom. As however it was of vital importance for Lübeck that Holland should not gain a footing in the Sond, or Charles be enabled to extend his empire into Scandinavia by reinstating Christian II., Lübeck ventured to temporize with the Imperial Minister Hopfenstunir, whom the Emperor had condescended to send to this recalcitrant city, probably aware of the mortgage that Charles held on the dower of the Queen, of 40,000 guilders, for which he was bound to the Emperor; and soon after anxiously caught at the propositions of Ranzow, the Minister of King Friedrich, who was prepared to accept almost any conditions to secure the co-operation, or even the neutrality, of the powerful Hansa. He agreed to seize all ships in the Sound belonging to the Netherlands and to

Western Europe, till such time as the Netherlanders had recovered the good graces of the King; to commission twelve ships, manned by 2000 men-at-arms; to entirely exclude from the Sound, for a period of twenty-eight years, all Netherland, Brabant, and even Baltic shipping, excepting always those belonging to the Lübeck, Danzig, Königsberg, and Prussian merchants; and lastly, not to negotiate with King Christian and Holland for a term of ten years, without previously informing Lübeck of such intention. These conditions, impossible for both parties, were concluded soon after the 1st of September, 1531.

It was in Lübeck's interest to keep a weak prince on the Danish throne, for so soon as a powerful monarch obtained that position, it was clear that Lübeck must lose the monopoly of the Baltic trade. On Friedrich's second application, therefore, with the announcement of Christian's approach with eighteen ships, Wullenweber caused a message to be sent to Neuminster to offer Friedrich four ships, which were soon to be followed by two more, and in case of need, by an additional two; and moved the Senate to despatch two at once, with the promise of the remaining four at an early day.

At this juncture Wullenweber perceived that the time was come for him to assume a place in the government of the Queen of the Hansa; he was nevertheless willing to do so with the appearance of legality, and therefore recalled into operation a long-forgotten and obsolete ordinance of Henry the Lion, which decreed that after two years' seat in the Senate, each member should retire. By these means he brought about that a new election of Senators should take place. The influence he exercised in Lübeck

assured him of a seat, and on the 21st of February, 1533, Wullenweber became a Senator, together with seven other plebeians. He now proceeded to cause Bürgermeisters to be elected in the place of those who had deserted the city; so that within fourteen days, that is on the 7th of March in the same year, we find Wullenweber invested with the dignity of a Bürgermeister, confirmed by the unanimous acclamation of the people.

His first act was to send the Bürgermeisters Joachim Gerker and Gottschalk Lunte as envoys to Copenhagen, to press for the fulfilment of the Royal promise,—the exclusion of the Dutch from the Sound, and the payment of the expenses of the war. These envoys however received a contemptuous answer, as did also Nicolaus Bardovick, who had been sent to the King at Gottorp, on the 6th of January, on a like errand. Thereupon, Wullenweber assembled the citizens in the Senate-house, three weeks after his election, and so excited them by his address, that they cried with one accord, "War to the Danish dogs, to the Danish traitors!"

But war required money, which it was difficult to raise; and finding that the rich patricians would not assist him, in the hope of destroying his power by their refusal, he applied the rich ornaments of the Catholic Church, which he had caused to be confiscated, to the purpose, and even converted the splendid chandeliers of the church of St. Mary into falconets. By these means he was enabled to send five ships to sea on the opening of the navigation, under the Senators Jenkstake and Clevorn, to chase the Dutch out of the Sound. A second squadron, under Marcus Meier,

put to sea on the 27th of June, 1533, bearing a mission to Copenhagen, with Wullenweber himself as the chief. In the meantime the King had died on the 10th of April preceding, and the Council of the Kingdom could not agree on the election of a Sovereign, some preferring Christian, the eldest son of Friedrich, who was born while he was yet Duke; and others the younger son, John, who had been born after he became King. The third candidate was the Duke Albert of Mecklenburg.

Wullenweber, on arriving at Copenhagen, represented to the Council of State the yearly sacrifices made by Lübeck for the kingdom of Denmark, in respect of munitions of war, without any corresponding advantage whatever, and complained in strong language of the Dutch piracy in the Baltic, against whom the most energetic measures were required. To this the state council replied evasively, that no king had been elected, and that their acts would not bind him any more than the acts of the late king would bind his successors; for this was the admitted principle of international law in that age. Wullenweber now turned to the Bürgermeisters Bockbinder and Kalt Mynter, of Copenhagen, and Malmœ, also members of the State Council, who were disaffected on account of the privileges which Friedrich had conferred on the gentry, and who feared the reassumption of power by the bishops and the Catholic Church. Wullenweber therefore promised the humbling of the gentry, and ecclesiastical freedom; but that, as a condition precedent to the offer of the crown to Christian, the gates should be thrown open to the military power of Lübeck; should Christian then decline to accept the crown at the

hands of the Bürgermeister, Lübeck would on her part receive the two cities into the Hansa League, and rule over Denmark in the same way as Venice ruled over Cyprus. The failure of the negotiations with the West Wendish State Council having therefore failed in fact, Wullenweber turned to Sweden, hoping that Gustavus, who had the Hansa to thank for his crown, would prove more complaisant. In this however he was mistaken, for he returned so offensive an answer to this proposition for alliance, that Wullenweber was provoked into the incautious remark, "My city can readily put down a king which it has itself put up."

Still Wullenweber clung to the darling and gigantic plan he had conceived of monopolizing the Baltic trade, and the maintenance of the civic power of his second fatherland, which he himself had called into life; but in both cases he was forming too high an estimate of the aid which he might expect from the sister cities, and of Denmark's weakness.

Wullenweber's plan with Sweden having failed, though supported by the French envoy, Nicolaus de Rusticis, he offered Christian the crown under the co-operation of Kock and Bockbinder, through Franz Trebau, the Duke Christian's secretary. But here again he was foiled; Christian, contrary to all expectation, and despite the prayers of the patriotic party, refused to accept the crown from these half-rebellious citizens. He replied that it was contrary to God's command to assume a supreme office without a call, and by fraud and violence. Wullenweber probably was not aware of the alliance, offensive and defensive against all enemies, which had been concluded between the Emperor Charles, and the King of Sweden, and Christian, where-

by the former doubtless hoped to extend his power to Scandinavia, and the other two to combat by this means the inconvenient influence of the Hansa League in the Baltic, and in this way to render themselves sufficiently powerful to bid defiance to the Imperial influence, should it be brought to bear against them. This alliance had, in fact, been concluded between Christian and the Emperor on the 5th of December, 1533, and was acceded to by Gustavus on the 2nd of February, 1534.

The only course now left open to Wullenweber appeared to be to annihilate the power of Gustavus of Sweden; and here also he miscarried, for the Count Hoya having been infeudated of Finland by his brother-in-law Gustavus, declined the proposition. The last attempt on Sweden was made through the son of the last administrator of that kingdom, Swante Sture, a young man of sixteen years of age, then resident with the Duke of Lauenburg to complete his knightly apprenticeship. Marcus Meier, the Captain-General, and personal ally of Wullenweber, made an appointment with him at Möllen, with the view of obtaining possession of his person and of persuading him to head an expedition against Sweden. As he was however too prudent to lend himself to a scheme of such doubtful success, Meier thereupon seized him, declaring "that the lords of Lübeck were powerful and rich enough to hold him harmless, and that if he would not in God's he should in the devil's name," and carried him a prisoner to Lübeck. Sture however remained obstinate, and unceasingly demanded his freedom of the Senate, who replied that he was Meier's and not their prisoner, and that the matter did not

concern them. Finding him remain however steadfast in his resolve, Meier lost all hope of using him as a puppet, and set him free on the marriage-day of his step-daughter, as he said, in honour of his princely guests, among whom was the Duchess of Lauenburg, the young man's protectress.

Thus all the plans of Wullenweber having failed, he was glad to accept the offer of settling all differences at a conference at Hamburg; and towards the end of February, 1534, the deputies of the various princes and cities concerned, assembled at Hamburg for this purpose. On the part of Burgundy, George d'Austria, Bishop of Brixen; Gerard Mulart, Councillor and Master of the Requests of the Grand Council of the Emperor at Malines; Maximilian of Transilvan, and Cornille Bennick, also Imperial Councillors: on the part of Stralsund, Bürgermeister Nicolaus Smiterlow; and on the part of Lübeck, Joachim Gerken and Jürgen Wullenweber, with the Senators Antony of Stiten and Hans of Elpen: of these the last entered in great pomp, with Wullenweber, the Captain-General Mark Meier, and the Town-Major of Werder, at the head of sixty harnessed troopers, a military display which shook the confidence of the Senate of Hamburg, and offended the two Burgundian envoys.

Wullenweber's first demand was that no Dutch ships should pass the Sound, in conformity with the treaty of the 2nd of May, 1532; but it was objected that this could form no precedent, as it had never been ratified. Of this proposition the Dutch envoys would hear nothing, and referred to the treaty of 1525 and the peace of 9th of June, 1532, both with Denmark, in which the Lübeck envoys took part, and which only

went to the extent of requiring the Dutch to pay the usual tolls, with the guarantee of perfect freedom in all other respects to pass and repass the Sound with their ships and wares.

The Imperial envoys demanded of Lübeck 200,000 gold guilders for expenses of armaments, a like sum as indemnity for the damage caused to Imperial subjects, and an uncertain sum, at the pleasure of the Emperor, as a penalty for the insult to the crown. All these sums were to be paid forthwith, or procured under the security of Hamburg, one-fourth to be paid at once or at Easter, and the balance within three years, under the threat of being put to the ban of the Empire. The Lübeckers, on the other hand, were only willing to furnish twelve ships in the year.

The discussion however became more and more violent, and reached its height on the Imperial envoys demanding the reinstatement of Bröms in all his honours and property, because Wullenweber and his party then clearly saw that their utter destruction was aimed at. Wullenweber abruptly quitted the conference in wrath, and betook himself back to Lübeck, in the company of Meier. Probably he had also information of what was going on at Lübeck, where the patrician party had profited by his absence to undermine his influence and destroy his power by means of a counter-revolution. On his arrival he found the city, with Börmus at the head, in an uproar, demanding that Wullenweber should be made answerable for his delinquency at Hamburg. Wullenweber then held from the pulpit of the church of St. Mary, one of those powerful addresses whereby he had so often succeeded heretofore with the irresolute citizens, and which in this

case ended in the arrest and imprisonment of divers of his opponents who had not escaped, with an order to Bürgermeister Gerken and the Senators Heinrich Kerkering, Cord Webbeking, Nicolaus Bardwick, Hermann Schütte, Antony of Stiten, and John Halterfolk, to keep away from the Senate, and to remain under surveillance in their houses. Wullenweber having now reached the zenith of his power, returned to Hamburg, free from the opposition of the conservative party of the Senate.

Seeing nothing but war open to him, which he was not sufficiently strong to wage with all the opponents of his principles, he agreed to Hamburg mediating a truce of four years, throwing open the navigation of the Baltic for that period to the Burgundian and Esterling shipping, with a proviso for the conclusion of a treaty respecting the shipping at the expiration of that term. Wullenweber then returned home, and promoted the preparations for war with the Northern Powers by all the means at his command, but still not without opposition on the part of some of the citizens, especially of the clergy and of Börmus the Superintendent of the city.

At this period Christopher, Count of Oldenburg, appears on the stage. It is probable that he was born about 1502 or 1504, as he was the third son of the reigning Count of Oldenburg, who, not wishing to divide his lands among his sons, as was usual at that period, sent Christopher to Cologne to study theology, with the ultimate intention of obtaining for him the mitre of Bremen.

His instructor at Cologne, however, and Philip, the Count Palatine, to whom he was sent to perfect

himself in chivalry, according to the course pursued in those days, were both inclined to the Lutheran views; and hence, not unnaturally, Christopher took up his position as the ally of Wullenweber and of the Hanse-town of Lübeck, which now found it convenient to espouse the cause of Christian, the imprisoned King of Denmark.

In 1534, therefore, Christopher, in accordance with an understanding with Wullenweber, arrived, near about Ascension-day, with 4000 well armed men, within half an hour's march of Lübeck. Wullenweber thereupon assembled the whole commonalty at the Senate-house, and declared that inasmuch as the State Council of Denmark had behaved with such ingratitude towards Lübeck, and inasmuch as the time was now come for revenging it and for obtaining certain immunities and privileges, it would be well to supply Christopher with vessels to convey his troops to Denmark. To this proposition the citizens gave a ready and joyful assent; and the next day the Count appeared at the Senate-house, and it was declared that the expedition should be directed primarily against Holstein, to prevent that State assisting Denmark. The King Christian was at that period imprisoned in the castle of Sonderburg, a possession of the Duke Christian.

On the 19th of June the Lübeck fleet of twenty-one sail conveyed Count Christopher to the Danish Islands, with from 1500 to 2000 veteran warriors, augmented nine days later by two regiments of 800, and a few days later by a supplement of 500. The Lübeck fleet was also in excellent order, fully provisioned, and furnished with every munition of war. Wullenweber

himself acted as Admiral, and Mark Meier went as the Count's Lieutenant. Yet in spite of this great armament, things went not well with Wullenweber, who was compelled to return to Lübeck, in which city he was shortly after besieged by the Duke of Holstein, and reduced almost to extremity by the military skill of Ranzow the General of Holstein.

Under these pressing circumstances he appealed to Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, for assistance, the only ally upon whom Lübeck could then depend, nor, it would appear, even on him with much confidence, as the Duke was evidently disposed to make the crown of Denmark the price of his assistance. Wullenweber therefore was ultimately obliged to accept the very terms he had peremptorily rejected in the previous summer, but which were now acceded to at Stockelsdorp.

On this the Duke of Holstein raised the siege, and restoring the places and munitions of war agreed upon, departed for Denmark on the 16th of November in the same year.

But though he had met with this almost fatal check to his plans, the restless spirit of Wullenweber rendered it impossible for him to seize this opportunity of retiring with honour from these great political intrigues. Still undaunted, he soon recommenced his interference in the political affairs of the North. His first object was to ascertain the state of the public feeling in Copenhagen as respected the Duke Albert, since no one appeared willing to place confidence in a prince who was generally looked upon as an upholder of the Catholic party. Count Christopher, on the other hand, was exceedingly unwilling to submit in

any respect to the authority of the Duke Albert, justly considering himself as invested with the supreme command. The policy of the democratic party was seriously weakened by these differences of opinion, while at the same time Bröms was by no means idle in the Imperial camp, and was able to procure the issue of a new ban, which, without alluding to the new religious views, simply enjoined an immediate dismissal of the new Senate, and the solemn reinstallation of Bröms, under the pains and penalties of contumacy. This penal rescript arrived in Lübeck during Wullenweber's absence at the Court of Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg, and the popular assembly being forthwith convened on the 14th of August, decreed, with the usual versatility of popular assemblies, the dismissal of the new Senate.

A few days after this occurrence, Wullenweber returned to Lübeck, and recognizing the *fait accompli*, and his own fall as inevitable, resigned his office, overwhelmed with pain and disappointment, and having made a short address, retired to his private residence, followed by the yells and curses of the same populace who but a few weeks previously all but worshiped him as a demigod. Before, however, Bröms's solemn entry into the city took place, on the 29th of August, a general amnesty was granted by the Senate, in which the originators of the Danish war were included. The lieutenant-governorship of the district of Bergedorf, which had remained the common property of Lübeck and Hamburg down to the present time, was offered to Wullenweber, who, however, preferred continuing to dedicate himself to the Danish question, the more so, as letters had just arrived from the Duke Albert, in which he urgently pressed for assistance. Wullen-

weber therefore petitioned the Senate for permission to recruit 6000 idlers who were collected in the district of Hadeln, and received permission to do so. Regardless of the various warnings which were given him of the danger he incurred in going thither, he however declared it to be his duty to conduct from Denmark the princes whom he had induced to go thither.

The Archbishop of Bremen having been made acquainted with his intention by the Lübeck Senate, Wullenweber had hardly entered the Archbishop's diocese and territory when he was arrested and sent a prisoner to Rothenburg. The Archbishop, not venturing to execute the ex-Bürgermeister himself, because Henry VIII. of England was actively interceding for him, delivered him into the hands of Henry the younger, of Brunswick, who kept Wullenweber nearly two years in chains; and it was only by the application of the most horrible tortures that he could be brought to admit crimes which he had never contemplated; and he subscribed his name to the interrogatory, on the 24th of September, in a scarcely legible hand, after which he was beheaded at Wolfenbüttel. The following verses were found written in his hand on the walls of his dungeon :—

> "No thief, no traitor, and no Trappist I,
> And never will be found so an I die.
> O Jesus Christ, of life and truth the Way,
> In mercy witness these last words I say."

Thus terminated the short but eventful life of one of the greatest and most capable men of his age. In reviewing the character of Wullenweber we must admit the wonderful power which he possessed over his fellow-men; nor can we doubt that in adopting the

new confession, he did it first as a means for obtaining the great end he had in view, the usurpation of the chief power in the State; and secondly, from a conviction that the time was come for liberating the laity from the influence of the Catholic priesthood, without which the independence of the Hanseatic League could never have been permanently upheld.

A democrat in practice, he was, like all the ablest of his class, an aristocrat or even a monarchist in principle, well perceiving that the former could never be successfully maintained without the latter; and whatever temporary injury he may have inflicted upon the State and League of which he so rapidly rose to be the chief, it cannot be doubted that he did more to establish Protestantism in northern Germany than even Luther himself had done in the heart of that wide-extended and powerful Empire. Lübeck may therefore look back with pride on Wullenweber as the greatest and most independent statesman she ever possessed, uniting in his person the military administrative qualifications of Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and of Martin Luther. Without the good fortune with which those two great men terminated their career, he may justly claim from history credit for as great sincerity and patriotism, with the unanimous verdict of posterity to his boldness and honesty of purpose.

XIV.—ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MERINO BREED OF SHEEP.

BY SIR JOHN P. BOILEAU, BART., V. P.

(Read April 6th, 1859.)

The question whether the fine-woolled Merino Sheep which have been introduced into England from Spain since the commencement of the present century, were not originally from an English breed, has been often asked, and inasmuch as it partakes of an historical no less than of an archæological character, it seems one that I may fairly bring before the consideration of the Royal Society of Literature. With this view, therefore, I beg to be allowed to detain you with its examination for a few minutes. Now there are two points which it is necessary I should first consider:—

1st. Whether at an early period of our history the English flocks were highly esteemed for the quality of their wool, and sought for by other countries.

2nd. Whether any historical facts are extant which may lead to the belief that sheep were sent from this country to Spain.

On the first point it is stated, in the very able Cyclopædia (the 'National') published in 1851 by Mr. Knight, that the Romans (though Cæsar mentions neither sheep nor the employment of wool), soon

after their conquest, established a woollen factory at Winchester, and so well did this succeed that the woollen cloths of Britain soon began to vie with the production of every other part of the Roman Empire. From this period I am unable to find any particular remark on the wool of England till the time of Edward I., though from the fact of the sheep being often named in Domesday, and with them, their *berguarii*, or shepherds, we may presume them to have been part of the agricultural stock of the country.

In Edward I.'s time a duty was imposed upon the exportation of British wool, which seems to prove that it was sought for by foreigners, and that it was therefore probably of superior quality; and, in the thirteenth century, says Knight's Cyclopædia already quoted, under the article Long-woolled Sheep, "certain Florentine merchants were permitted to export from England to Flanders more than a thousand sacks of combing or long wool." Mr. Hallam, in his 'Middle Ages,' 8vo ed., 1822, vol. iii. p. 375, notices a writer of the thirteenth century, Matthew of Westminster, who says that all the world was clothed from English wool wrought in Flanders; though he adds, "This indeed is an exaggerated vaunt." We may, I think, fairly conclude from it that English wool at that period was much sought for abroad; and also from the fact mentioned by Anderson, in his 'History of Commerce,' that there is a patent, 31 Henry II., to the weavers of London, importing that if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool mixed with English wool, the Mayor of London should see it burnt.

When we come to the reign of Edward III., we

find, in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' 7th May, A.D. 1338, 12 Edward III., an edict "for not allowing live rams to be taken out of the kingdom, lest the price of wool should be lowered by it."

And another edict, on the 12th April, A.D. 1340, 14 Edw. III., forbidding wool to be taken out of the kingdom, for fear of its falling into the enemy's hands.

I will only quote further a curious poem, printed by Hackluyt, entitled, 'Libel of English Policy.' Speaking of the commodities of Spain and Flanders, it says:—

> "Fine cloth of Ypre, that named is better than ours,
> Cloth of Curtvike, fine cloth of all colors,
> Much Fustian and also linen cloth.
> But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
> The great substance of your cloth at thee full
> Yee *wot ye make it of our English Woll.*"

Considering that I have established the high estimation in which English Wool was held by foreign nations at this early period, I shall go on to inquire what grounds we have for believing that the race of sheep which produced it was then obtained by Spain from this country.

Mr. Hallam, in his 'Middle Ages,' 4to edit., vol. ii., p. 472, in a note, says, "An English flock was transported into Spain about 1348, said to have been the source of fine Spanish wool," and refers for his authority to Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce,' p. 539.

Southey, in the second volume of his 'Omniana,' pp. 103–108, makes the same statement, which has been repeated by others; but I can discover no positive English record of it, and conceive that the foundation

of the belief rests on the collateral evidence to be found in the collection of letters by a Spanish author, Funon Gomez, of Cibda Real, who was physician to King John II. of Castile (who lived from 1405 to 1454), and to whom and other great personages his letters are addressed.

He relates, in his 73rd Letter, a dispute between two Spaniards concerning rank, in the presence of King John II., in 1437. It was tauntingly objected to one of these that he was descended from a Judge of the Shepherds. The reply was, "that this office had been always held by noblemen of rank, and that it had been originally created by King Alfonzo, *at the time when the flocks were first brought in the transport ships from England to Spain*," and that it had been conferred by him on Inigo Lopez di Orosco.

Till lately Cibda Real's authority has been always accepted, and he is mentioned by Brunet, in his 'Manuel du Libraire,' favourably, as "clearing up "many events worthy of notice;" but a learned American writer, Mr. Ticknor, having cast strong doubts upon his authenticity, I desired to obtain the opinion of my late lamented friend Mr. Bartle Frere, well known as an accurate and elegant Spanish scholar. He replied to me that Don Nicholas Antonio (in the second volume of the 'Biblioteca Hispana Vetus,' printed at Rome, in 1696), speaking of these Letters, says (lib. x. ch. 6, 3278) that "their style is elegant for the time in which they were written, interspersed with wit and innocent pleasantry, and giving a truly luminous summary of affairs during so many years of a most turbulent reign." After a few other remarks he adds: "I cannot concur with Mr. Ticknor,

who, objecting that some of Cibda Real's statements are inconsistent with other historical records of the time when the letters are said to have been written, asserts that they are 'wholly spurious,' as the perusal of them conveys to my mind a strong impression of their general truthfulness;" and Mr. Frere then adds, in support and corroboration of the justice of this opinion, an extract from the 'Chronicle of King Alfonzo II.,' published at Valladolid in 1551, and transcribed from an earlier one of 1379, written by order of Don Pedro, Alfonzo II.'s son, as follows:—

"At the battle of Tarifa, in 1340, where Alfonzo II. was in great danger from the Moors, and an arrow stuck in the pommel of his saddle, the King, nothing daunted, animated his people like a man of great courage and confidence, crying out, "Strike home, Sirs, for I am the King, Don Alfonzo, and this day will show me what my vassals are, and they shall see what I am." With these words he was urging his horse on to the attack, when D. Gil, archbishop of Toledo, who never quitted the King's side, laid hold on his rein, and said, "Sir, I beseech you, be still, and do not peril Castile and Leon. The Moors are beaten, and I trust in God that you will this day have the victory." Now although those about the King were few in number, they were very much animated by what the King had said to them. These companies were composed of knights and esquires and others, who had been brought up in the King's household and his royal favour, and thus were much devoted to his person, being also valiant men and of great courage, and having a high sense of honour. As therefore the King, after the battle, conferred benefits on some of these knights and esquires

whom he saw before him, the historian has here written the names of several of these, viz.

> Sancho Sanchez de Rosas,
> Garcia F. de Grizalva,
> *Inigo Lopez di Orosco,*
> Juan Estevan de Castillanos, etc."

Having thus proved by authority independent of Cibda Real that Inigo Lopez di Orosco stood high, as he tells us, in the favour of Alfonzo in 1340, Mr. Frere goes on to corroborate his further assertion that he conferred upon him the office of Judge of the Shepherds, by quoting a curious note by the learned editor of Don Pedro d'Azola's Chronicle of the King, Don Pedro (Madrid, 1779), where, in discussing the meaning of the term Monte Aragon, he refers to a letter of King Alfonso himself, dated at Madrid, 1339, "by which he appointed Inigo Lopez di Orosco, Judge and President of the Council of Shepherds."

Thus Mr. Frere substantiates two of the statements of Cibda Real from quite extraneous authority: (1) that Inigo Lopez di Orosco was Judge of the Shepherds; and (2) that he was appointed by King Alfonso to that post; and it does not therefore appear unreasonable to believe this further assertion, that it was "at the time when the Flocks were first brought in the transport ships from England into Spain."

But, to revert to English writers—

Macpherson, in his 'Annals of Commerce,' vol. i. 8vo ed., p. 539, Sept. 1348,[1] speaking of the negotia-

[1] In A.D. 1348 there was a great plague in Spain, which swept away two-thirds of the population, and gave larger area for the *mester*, or feeding-ground of mixed flocks, by leaving so much land uncultivated.

tion for the marriage of Joanna, Edward III.'s daughter, to Alfonzo II.'s son, afterwards Peter the Cruel, says:—"Many civilities passed between the two Courts, and Alfonzo understanding that Edward had given orders to purchase a Spanish jennet for him, prevented the purchase and sent him a pair as a present. It was probably also during this negotiation, and perhaps in compensation for the ships sent to the siege of Calais, or in part payment of the marriage portion, that Alfonso received a flock of sheep from England, of the number of which we can only judge from more than one vessel of the larger kind, called carracks, being employed to carry them over. Of their importance in the eye of their new master we may judge by his appointment of a man of rank to be judge over the shepherds employed in the care of the royal flocks, and thus by a great and signal breach of the law or order of 1338 (May 7) against their exportation, was the breed of English sheep naturalized in Spain."

In a note, vol. i. p. 88, of Sir Frederic Eden's work on the State of the Poor, I also find the whole story of Cibda Real is adopted without any doubt expressed of its correctness. And he adds, as Alfonzo died on 29th March, 1350, and Edward II. was dead long before he came of age, we need not hesitate to ascribe the exportation of the sheep to Edward III., and one or other of the occasions mentioned in the text may be assumed for fixing the date with a tolerable approach to certainty.

When we come to the reign of Edward IV., we have however more direct and unquestionable proof of what we are seeking for.

Anderson, in his 'History of Commerce,' vol. i. p.

280, says :—" Under this year, 1464, there is an incident mentioned by all our historians which in a commercial sense may be termed a very remarkable one, viz. that a league was then entered into between King Edward IV. of England and Henry IV. of Castile, when the former granted liberty to the monarch of Spain to transport certain sheep from the Cotswold Hills of Gloucestershire into Spain."

And vol. i. p. 285, he quotes, under year 1468, Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 631, where it is said, Edward renewed and concluded a defensive alliance with John, King of Arragon, whereby they bound themselves to aid each other against all their enemies.

Upon occasion or in consequence of this treaty, Edward IV. is said by our historians to have sent to King John of Arragon a present of some live English ewes and rams, which, they add, did so multiply in Spain as to have proved very detrimental to the woollen trade of England.

In the 'National Cyclopædia,' vol. x. p. 933, it is said, " In the fifteenth century, Edward IV. permitted his sister Margaret to export annually during her life two thousand rams to Flanders and Holland." Once there, from the intercourse of those countries with Spain, they could easily have passed into that country.

Mr. Youatt quotes from the Chronicles of Stowe, that " this yere (1464) King Edward gave license for certain Cotteswolde sheep to be transported into the country of Spain ;" and, also, Baker's Chronicles, 4th ed., 1465, where it is said, " He, Edward IV., enters into a league with John, King of Arragon, to whom he sent for a present a score of Cotsall ewes and five rams ; a small present in show, but great in the event,

for it proved of more benefit to Spain and more detrimental to England than could at first have been imagined."

Daniel Trussell states that a score of ewes and five rams were sent by Edward IV. to Henry IV., King of Castile; but, contrary to the view of Baker that this liberality was injurious to England, he says:—"It seems they did so much increase in Spain, that from thence proceeded the fine Spanish wool so necessary for the manufacture of our superfine English cloth."

I am somewhat surprised to find no notice of these transactions in Adam Smith, in his 'Wealth of Nations,' especially as (vol. ii. p. 494) he alludes to the statute 8 Eliz. ch. 3, and speaks of its inhuman penalties against those who exported sheep, and also alludes to other similar later statutes with just reprobation.

I will only add that neither in M'Culloch's 'Statistical Account of the British Empire,' nor Porter's 'Wealth of Nations,' do I find any information on this subject; but we have the high authority of Mr. Hallam, in a note, vol. iii. p. 382, for another exportation of English sheep to Spain taking place about 1465, in consequence of a commercial treaty, for which he also quotes Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 534 *et alibi*.

I have now only to leave it to your judgment whether it is not pretty certain that the Merino sheep lately brought into England, are only the descendants of those which our ancestors allowed to be sent to Spain; and if any good has been derived to our woollen factories or the prosperity of the country by the superior fineness of their wool, we may consider it as a fresh proof that liberal policy is the best, and sooner or later brings its own reward.

I may also be allowed to express my hope that we may be so successful in our own generation in cultivating excellent quality in our flocks, that they may be as much sought after for their superiority to those of other nations in the nineteenth, as they were in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

INDEX.

ABERDEEN, the Earl of, discovers a small but important inscription at Branchidæ, 488.
Achul Sing, legend relating to, related by Sir W. Sleeman, in his 'Journey through Oude,' 414.
Adulis, Greek inscription found at, 73.
———, inscription of, important names occurring on, 96.
Albano, Niebuhr's description of the lake at, 392.
———, story current at, explaining why the city of Alba was submerged, 393.
Alboin, the same name as the English Ælfwin, 434.
Alison, Mr., obtains a statue of a draped female, at Budrum, in 1846, 456.
Alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between Charles V., Christian of Denmark, and the King of Sweden, 518.
Allthing, The, or Parliament of Iceland, held annually at Thingvalla, 334.
Amazons mentioned by Jornandes, possible explanation of the legend about, 428.
Amber, beads, carved heads, and other objects in, in the Temple Collection, 160.
America, the part of called Nova Scotia, discovered in A.D. 1001, by Liefs, the son of Erik the Red, 338.
Ankerström, Jacob Johann, shoots Gustavus III. at a masked ball, March 16, 1792, 267.
Antiochus, name of, written in cuneiform, discovered on tablets at Warkah, 39.
Apulia, finest vases from, contemporary with Alexander the Great, 144.
Arabs of lower Tigris and Euphrates, divided in *Fellah* and *Mádán*, 5.
Ariadne, reclining on rock, bas-relief of, 163.
Artemisia, queen of Mausolus, king of Caria, erects Mausoleum in his honour, 449.
———, probable statue of, 481.
Asia, conquest of, by Ptolemy Evergetes, recalls the exploits of Sesostris, Sethos, and Rameses, 65.
Assaracus, a name probably of Assyrian origin, 201.
Atkinson, Mr., account of Sacred Lakes in Siberia, 404.
Audouin, essentially the same name as the English Edwin, 434.

BABINGTON, Rev. Churchill, his notes upon Mr. Graham's inscriptions, 316.
Bacchus, beautiful bronze statuette of the infant, in Temple Collection, 154.
Barbarossa, Emperor Frederic, legend relating to, preserved by Carlyle in his 'History of Frederick the Great,' 415.

Bari, anciently Barium, in Apulia, painted vases of late epoch from, 138.
Belief, popular, that seasons of plenty or scarcity are foreshown by ebbing springs and the rise and fall of water in a vessel, 403.
Beyrout, a spot near where St. George is said to have slain the Dragon, 315.
Blackstone, Judge, states that Juries are mentioned as early as the laws of King Ethelred, 335.
Boileau, Sir John P., V.P., "On the origin of the Merino Breed of Sheep," 528–536.
Bremen, the Archbishop of, arrests Wullenweber, and sends him prisoner to Rothenburg, 526.
Bröms, the Bürgermeister, is created a knight by the Emperor, 513.
——— is sent by the Senate of Lübeck to the Imperial Congress at Augsburg, 509.
Branchidæ, Temple of Apollo Didymæus at, some account of, 482–483.
———————————, various travellers who had examined it, 483.
Bunsen, M., reason why Egypt was depressed in the thirteenth century B.C., 203.
Buáríah, the most lofty and ancient structure at Warkah, 6.
———, the meaning of its name, 8.
———, detailed account of it, 8–10.
———, its buttresses built of flat bricks, inscribed with the name of the oldest king, Urukh, 10.
———, wall at the top of, with bricks stamped with the name of the King Sinshada, 11.
———, wall round the ruin of, with bricks stamped with the name of Merodach-Gina, 11.

Caermarthen, legend connected with the town of, and still existing, 408.
Cambyses, bricks with name of, in cuneiform characters in relief, found at Warkah, 46.
Campania, Etruscan rule in, long and powerful, 139.
Canopus, Greek inscription on gold plate from, 73.
Canosa, the ancient Canusium, a rich mine of Greek antiquities, 134.
———, famous vase of Darius found there, 135.
Capua, gold ornaments, now in Museo Borbonico, found at, 133.
Catechism, A, giving details of the Lithuanian Pantheon, and printed A.D. 1547, 445.
Catherine II. of Russia, her letter to Gustavus III. in 1783, 244.
Chaldæa, the usual appellation given to the southern portion of Mesopotamia, 1.
Champollion, M., discovers a monument in the ruins of the small temple at Esneh, 68.
———————, reads the name of Persia on monument of Ptolemy Evergetes, 71.
———————, reads the name Armenia on list from Esneh, 75.
Charles XI. of Sweden, invested with dictatorial powers in 1680, 227.
Christian II. of Denmark seeks the aid of Charles V. to restore him to the kingdom whence he had been dethroned, 514.

Clarke, Dr. E. D., description of Kertch in his travels, 102.
Clepho, the same name as Clapa, whence Clapham, 435.
Cnidus, reasons why this ruined site ought to be fruitful in works of art, 490–492.
———, description of, in the 'Ionian Antiquities' published by the Society of Dilettanti, 492.
Coffins from Warkah sent to, and now exhibited in, the British Museum, 52.
———— ————, many relics found therein, 55.
Colquhoun, Patrick M'Chombach de, "Sketch of the Life of Bürgermeister Wullenweber," 503.
Copenhagen, Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at, throws much light on Scandinavian Antiquities, 386.
Corneto, elegant gold necklace from, in Sir W. Temple's Collection, 141.
Creutz, Count, letter to Gustavus III. when Prince, in 1763, 234.
Crevet, the Imperial Lieutenant, stationed with a considerable force at Mölbru to overawe the Senate at Lübeck, 511.
Ctesias, his account of the Trojan War, 195.
———, question as to how far he can be trusted as an authority for history, 196.
Cumæ, in Campania, account of the foundation of the Colony there, 137.
Curtius, Dr., mentions great flood of the Alpheus in 1828, in his work on "The Peloponnesus," 389.
———, explanation by, of the legend of the subjugation of Elis by Hercules, 390.

Danes, various accounts of the origin of the, 350.
Danish words still current in the North of England, 380.
Dates found on Haurán inscriptions, question about, 280.
David's, St., Bishop of, "On some Traditions relating to the Submersion of Ancient Cities," 387–415.
Demidoff, Anatole de, "Travels in Southern Russia and the Crimea in 1837," 110.
D'Herbelot, Views propounded in his 'Bibliothèque Orientale,' 189.
Diet, Swedish, of 1786, discontent of the States at, 245.
Dionysius, a Roman Monk, said to have been the first who adopted the Christian date, A.D. 516, 300.
Diotæ, or Greek wine-jars, found abundantly at Kertch, 123.
D'Ohsson, M., Views proposed by him in his Tableau de l'Orient, 180.
Donaldson, Professor, the first to notice the remains of an Ionic edifice at Budrum, 461.
Druzes, at present the settled inhabitants of Bashan, 272.

Edda of Sæmund (or Icelandic Epic), opinion in Iceland with regard to, 358.
———— ————, general character of the Poems contained in, 361.
Eddas, the Poetical and the Prose, belong to nearly the same æras, 360.
Eden, Sir Frederick, adopts Cibda Real's story without any doubt of its correctness, 534.
Elidor the Priest, Story of, as told by Giraldus Cambrensis, 407.
Ellesmere, the Earl of, Guide to Northern Archæology, by, 382.
English works that have been translated into Icelandic, list of, 385.
Equestrian accoutrements in bronze in the Temple Collection, 157.

Etruscan Art, finest specimens of metallurgy, etc., in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome, 141.
Ezra, Church of St., Christian Inscription on, 287.
——, Inscription from the Church of St. George at, 305.
Eyrbyggia Saga notices the very early use of Juries, 335.

Fraboni, Signor, "Storia degli antichi Vasi fittili Aretini," 152.
Feridun, not to be considered as a writer of History, 176.
——, his distribution of Empire among his sons, 189.
Firdusi, the author of the celebrated Poem of the "Shah-nameh," 173.
Fredericksholm, mutiny of the Swedish officers at, 252.
Frere, Bartle, opinion of, with reference to the letters of Cibda Real, 531.
Fresco Painting, specimens of, preserved in the Temple Collection, 167.

Gargiulo, Signor, Cenni sulla maniera di rinvenire i vasi fittili Italo-Greci, 142.
Gargiulo, M., Recueil de Gravures des Monuments du Musée Bourbon, 145.
George, St., who this martyr really was, 308.
—— installed, as their patron, by the Crusaders, near Joppa, A.D. 1099, 312.
Geysers, account of, 345.
——, various estimates of the temperature of the water in, 346.
Gibbon, his opinion of St. George, 315.
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E., on the personality of Helen in his *Oxford Essay*, 206.
——, view of the story of the sacrifice of horses by the Trojans to the river Scamander, 399.
Glass, beautiful iridescent specimens in, in the Temple Collection, 158.
—— bucket, of the *Renaissance* period, preserved in the Temple Collection, 168.
Gnatia, two curious vases from, 145.
Gomez of Cibda Real, collection of letters by, 531.
Graham, G. C., "Additional Inscriptions from the Hauran and the Eastern Desert of Syria," 270–323.
——, visits the district of El Harrah, 274.
——, visits Um-el-Jemâl, the Beth-Gamul of the Bible, 276.
——, discovers at Suweideh a Palmyrene inscription, 277.
Gragas, the name of the first code of written laws of Iceland, drawn up in A.D. 1118, 334.
Greenland, discovered by an Icelander near the end of the ninth century, 338.
Guatemala, account of the places where the ancient people of, used to sacrifice, 400.
Gumpach, Von, on the chronology of the Babylonians and Assyrians, 182.
Gustavus III., of Sweden, displayed great military talent in the war of 1787, 224.
——, one of the most remarkable princes of the eighteenth century, 223.
——, contrast of character between him, Joseph II., and Catherine II., 225.
——, state of Sweden when he come to the throne, 226.
——, early character of, 232.

Gustavus III., of Sweden, ascends the throne Feb. 12, 1771, 234.
———— swears to the Constitution of 1720, on May 15, 1771, 235.
———— summons the Diet in the Castle of Stockholm, August 21, 1772, 237.
———— re-establishes the Constitution of Gustavus Adolphus, 238.
———— wastes large sums in extravagant entertainments, 241.
———— makes expensive journeys in 1777 and 1780, 244.
———— receives large subsidies from France, 244.
———— meditates an attack on Denmark and Norway, 244.
———— plans an attack upon Russia, 246.
———— tells the Diet of his States that his failure was owing to his refractory officers, 253.
———— goes to Dalecarlia to conciliate the peasantry, 253.
———— is promised the assistance of England and Prussia against Russia and Denmark, 254.
———— forces the Danes at Gottenburg to submit, 255.
———— compels the submission of the Swedish nobles, 257.
———— proceeds to Finland in May, 1790, 258.
———— rules tyrannically over his subjects, 264.
———— visits M. de Bouillé in 1791, 266.
———— is shot at a masked ball, March 16, 1792, 267.

Hallam, Mr., his judgments of the native literature of Denmark, 355.
————, notices the export of British flocks to Spain in A.D. 1348, 530.
Hammer-Purgstall, Von, considers that the kings noticed in Shah-Nameh are the same as the Median dynasty of Ctesias, 179.
Harpy-tomb from Lycia, figures on, have some resemblance to those on known Etruscan monuments, 140.
Harris, Major, remarkable legend given by, in his 'Travels in the Highlands of Æthiopia,' 393.
Haug, M., places the land of Selm in that of the Sarmatians, 178.
Haurân, or Auranitis, the land of Bashan, 271.
Heiligensee, legend of the small lake near, 396.
Helmet, with name of Dasimus, the son of Pyrrhus, in Temple Collection, 155.
Hermann, Dr. Ernst, "Gustavus III., of Sweden," 223–269.
Himyaritic inscription from Warkah, 58.
Hogg, J., Notice of the annals of Granius Licinianus, 216–222.
————, Description of the sketches of Kertch, etc., by Lieut. Thompson, 100–129.
————, On the History of Iceland and the Icelandic language and literature, 324–386.
Hogland, island of, naval action near between Swedes and Russians, 251.
Homer not quoted among Kruger's Greek authorities, 181.
—— describes the mansion of Neptune in the depths of the Gulf near Ægæ, 405.
Horses, sacrifice of white, by the Magians, to propitiate the passage by Xerxes of the Strymon, 399.

Hyslop, Dr., of Baghdad, receipt for making the modern glaze on Babylonian earthenware, 56.

Iatta, Signori, make a splendid collection of antiquities at Ruvo, 134.
Iceland, probably not the "Ultima Thule" of the Romans, 325.
———, comparison of the length of voyages between it and Europe, 325.
———, climate of, contrasted with that of Norway, 326.
———, nothing known of it till the ninth century, 329.
———, earliest government of, republican, 333.
———, description of the early laws of, 336.
———, Christianity introduced into, in A.D. 981, 337.
———, Christianity declared the religion of, at the *Allthing*, A.D. 1000, 337.
———, republican government of, lasts three centuries and a half, 337.
——— places itself under the protection of Hakon, King of Norway, in A.D. 1261–4, 339.
———, together with Norway and Sweden, becomes subject to Denmark in A.D. 1380, 340.
———, modern government of, under a Viceroy appointed by the King of Denmark, 340.
———, varying population of, 342.
———, language of, belongs to the Scandinavian branch of the Indo-Germanic class, 347.
———, literary societies formed in connection with, 384.
Icelandic documents, some account of existing genuine remains of, 383.
——— language, various accounts of, in different writers, 348.
———————, pronunciation of, quite regular, 377.
——— poetry, detailed account of, 366.
Imperial envoys demand of Lübeck 200,000 gold guilders, 521.
Inscriptions, Archaic Greek, found by Mr. Newton at Branchidæ, 487.

Javan, the name for the Greeks or Ionians in the Bible, etc., 84.
Jerome, St., states why Ptolemy III. received the name of Evergetes, 72.
Jornandes notices "Scanzia Insula" in the far North, 426.
———, an Ostrogoth by birth, and Bishop of Ravenna in A.D. 530, 429.

Kemble, Mr., thinks the connection between the conquerors of Lombardy and of England was one of blood rather than political union, 417.
Kertch, beautiful staircase at, destroyed during the Russian War by the Allies, 106.
———, various ways of spelling, and origin of this name, 117.
———, explanation of Lieut. Thompson's drawings from, 127.
Koch, Dr. C., account of Kertch in his work, 'The Crimea and Odessa,' 106.
Kruger, J., Geschichte der Assyrier und Iranier, etc., 171.
Kruger, M., thinks that Selm means the land of Tantalus, 174.
————, believes that the Assyrians founded the new town of Ilion, 174.
————, thinks the Empire of Feridun extended from China to Europe, 175.
————, identifies Minutshehr with the Founder of the Assyrian Dynasty of 13th century B.C., 175.

Kunawât, the Kenath of the Bible, 295.
Kúrgans, the name given by the Russians to the Scythian barrows, 109.

Laing, Mr., the translator of the Heimskringla, or 'Chronicle of the Kings of Norway,' 369, 371.
Landnámabok, account in, of the landing of the Norwegians in Iceland, 322.
Langobard, though in many respects a proper name, is, in reality, a common one, 431.
Lappenberg claims for the Lombards a share in the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England, 416.
——— thinks the Lombards, who invaded Italy under Audouin, were Angles, 417.
Latham, R. G., M.D., "The Relation of the Lombards to the Angles," 432–437.
Lead, inscription on plate of, found at Cumæ, 166.
League, Hanseatic, commences about A.D. 1241, 504.
———————, origin of the name of, 505.
Leake, Colonel, note with reference to the cessation of Pagan worship, 307.
———————, visits the valley of the Pheneus in 1806, 389.
———————, mentions a story current among the peasantry of a conflict between two dæmons, who possessed Lake Copais, 391.
Legends relating to the Pheneus and Stymphalus, 389.
Lepsius, M., Ueber den Namen der Ionier auf den Ægyptischen Denkmälern, 88.
Lenormant, François, notice of a monument of the Conquests of Ptolemy Evergetes I., 65–99.
Licinianus, Annals of, discovered in a palimpsest brought from Egypt, 217.
——————— supposed to have written his Annals after Livy, but before Sallust, 219.
Lion, colossal, discovery of, at Cnidus, 497.
———————, spot where found may be recognized on the Admiralty Chart, 497.
———————, at Cnidus, originally formed the Top of a Tomb, 498.
———————————, a piece of sculpture in date somewhat anterior to the Mausoleum, 498.
———————————, the tomb to which attached, constructed like the Treasury of Atreus at Micenæ, 500.
———————————, perhaps sculptured in record of the defeat of the Athenians by the Cnetians, B.C. 412, 501.
———————————, two other tombs still extant in the vicinity bear great resemblance to, 501.
Livingstone, Rev. Dr., native account given by, of the origin of the Lake Dilólo, 394.
Locri Epizephyrii, late *lekythus* from, in Temple Collection, 146.
Loftus, W. Kennett, makes three journeys to Warkah, with excavations among its ruins, 1–64.
Lombard laws essentially High-German in character, 434.
Lombards of Tacitus and Ptolemy occupied, unquestionably, the Saxon portion of Germany, 440.

Lombards, statements of Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Strabo, presumed to relate to, 441.
———, probably Slavonic before they were Anglicized, 447.
Lossee, legend of the East Prussian Lake, called, 397.
Lough Gill, legend of a deep pool connected with, 411.
Lough-Neagh, legend relating to, preserved by Moore, 405.
Lübeck, the recognized head of the Hanseatic League, 504.
———, the patrician party at, favour the Catholic, and the plebeian the Lutheran opinions, 506.
———, the Senate of, show a bold front against the Lutheran party, 507.
———, forbid reading of Mass, chanting, and singing, 511.
———, interest of, to keep a weak Prince on the Danish throne, 515.
———, Popular Assembly of, decree dismissal of Wullenweber and of the New Senate, 525.
Lunte, Gottschalke, a plebeian chosen Bürgermeister of Lübeck, 514.
Lykæthus, not certain to what period his tomb is to be assigned, 497.

Macpherson, Dr. Duncan, account of his researches near Kertch, 116.
———, remains discovered by, now placed in British Museum, 117.
———, Mr., his statement in his 'Annals of Commerce' about sending flocks of sheep to Spain, 534.
Mádán Arabs, peculiarity of their dress, etc., 6.
Mant, Bishop, statement of, why St. George became so popular in England, 313.
Marble sculptures, etc., in the Temple Collection, 161.
Mausoleum erected in honour of Mausolus, King of Caria, by his queen, Artemisia, 449.
——— built by the architects Satyrus and Phiteus, 449.
——— adorned with sculptures by Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares, and Scopas, 449.
———, occasional notices of, during the many centuries between the time of erection and A.D. 1522, 450–452.
———, remarkable notice of its destruction by Guichard, in his 'Funérailles des Romains, Grecs, etc.,' 452.
———, cause of its gradual destruction, 466.
———, probable cause of the preservation of the sculptures on the northern side of, 469.
Mausolus, no remains of his tomb visible *in situ*, 467.
Meier, Captain-General under Wullenweber, seizes Swante Sture, 519.
Merino sheep introduced from Spain in the present century, probably originally of English origin, 528.
Minervini, Signor, describes monuments from Ruvo in 'Descrizione di alcuni vasi fittili della Collezione Iatta,' 134.
———, describes the Darius vase from Canova, in 'Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano' for 1854, 136.
Mithradates, pretended tomb of, 113.
Montpéreux, Dubois de, 'Voyage autour du Caucase,' 108.

Mosaics preserved in the Temple Collection, 166.
Moses of Chorene, his account of the War of Troy, 198.
Mure, Colonel, remarks on the character of Asiatic records, 209.
Museum, British, what has been done in, towards the reuniting the different fragments of sculpture sent home by Mr. Newton, 481.

Nanea, of the Maccabees, probably the same as Atargatis, or Astarte, 222.
Necropolis discovered at Warkah, 39.
——— at Warkah, compared with those now at Meshed Ali and Kerbelah, 40.
———————, early remains found in, 41.
———————, discovery of long "slipper-bath" coffins at, 49.
Newton, C. T., describes in 'Classical Journal,' vol. v., the sculptures from Budrum, presented by Sir Stratford Canning, 448.
———————, commences his excavations at Budrum in the early part of 1856, 453.
———————, finds a number of terra-cotta votive figures in his first excavations, 453.
———————, goes to Budrum in October, 1856, in H.M.S. Gorgon, 453.
———————, examines critically the sites proposed by Capt. Spratt, R.N., and M. Ludwig Ross, for the Mausoleum, 455.
———————, discovers an extensive series of Mosaic pavements, many bearing Greek legendary names, 456–460.
———————, discovers a portion of a frieze similar to that presented to the Museum by Sir Stratford Canning, 461.
———————, finds a portion of a huge equestrian figure, perhaps intended for an Amazon, 462.
———————, the discoveries of, invaluable, as bringing to light distinct evidence of a grand school of sculpture intermediate between Phidias and Lysippus, 463.
———————, discovers the drums of several columns, from which the size of the building can be in some degree determined, 463.
———————, discovers, in the course of his excavations, portions of lions belonging to the heads built into the castle walls at Budrum, 464.
———————, receives in 1857 a *firman* from Constantinople, authorizing the removal of the lions built into the walls of the castle at Budrum, 464.
———————, shows that the area of the Mausoleum was a parallelogram, 465.
———————, concludes that there were certainly two, if not three, friezes round the Mausoleum. 468.
———————, discovers a wall of isodomous masonry, probably that of the *temenos* of the Mausoleum, 468.
———————, discovers the outer circle, the nave, and part of the spokes of the wheel of the chariot of the quadriga, 471.
———————, discovers colossal sphinx and lion at the end of the Sacred Way, at Branchidæ, p. 485,
———————, excavates the *temenos* of the temple of Demeter, at Cnidus, 492.
———————, discovers within *temenos* of Demeter a large number of glass vessels, hairpins, bodkins of ivory, etc., 494.

Newton, Mr., discovers several fine sarcophagi of the time of Domitian, but too much injured to be worthy removal, 496.
Niebuhr, Disquisition on the gain to history from the Armenian translation of Eusebius, 212.
Niobe, statue of, on Mount Sipylus, 192.
Norway, various modifications which took place in the ancient dialect of, 354.
Nuffayji, a conical mound at Warkah, two miles from the Buáríah, 7.
———————————————, particular description of, 30.

Oldfield, E., description of Antiquities bequeathed to British Museum by the Hon. Sir Wm. Temple, 130–169.
Oldenburg, Christopher, Count of, becomes the ally of Wullenweber, 522.
Orioli, Signor, Report of the "Congresso degli Scienziati in Napoli," 158.
Orosco, Inigo Lopez di, created Judge of the Shepherds by King Alfonzo, 531.
Oswestry, small pool near, legend relating to, 398.

Panticapæum, now Kertch, ancient coins of, 121.
———————————————, the origin of its modern name, 118.
Peace, treaty of, between Russia and Sweden, signed August 14, 1790, 263.
Pertz, Dr. J. H., discovery of the Annals of Granius Licinianus, 216.
Pompeii, bronzes, mural paintings, and Samian ware from, in Sir W. Temple's Collection, 136.
Porter, Rev. J. L., states that Lydda is the reputed birthplace of St. George, the patron Saint of England, 311.
———————————————, description of the Church of St. George, at Ezra, 314.
Pozzuoli, originally Puteoli, probably a colony of Cumæ, 138.
Prayer, our Lord's, given by Mr. Hogg in eight languages, 372–375.
Pullen, Mr., discovers the colossal lion at Cnidus, 497.
Pythis sculptures the marble quadriga at the top of the Mausoleum, 449.

Ranzon, minister of King Friedrich, agrees to seize all ships in the Sound belonging to the Dutch, 514.
Rask, Professor, the founder of the "Icelandic Literary Society," in 1816, 384.
Rawlinson, Colonel Sir H. C., now identifies Mugeyer with "Ur of the Chaldees," 2.
———————————————, discovers the names of several Babylonian kings on tablets from Warkah, 47.
———————————————, remarks on the historical position of the Arians, 178.
Razumowski, Count, the Russian ambassador, ordered to leave Sweden, 248.
Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de (when Sir Stratford Canning), presents sculptures from the Castle of Budrum to the British Museum, 448.
Rephaim does not necessarily mean a people of gigantic size, 278.
Rhyton, origin of this peculiar form of drinking-vessel, 148.
Rougé de, M., memoir on the Inscription of Ahmes, 80.
Runes, presumed origin of this name, 376.
Russia, terrible scarcity in, in 1787, 247.
——— unprepared for the Swedish attack, 250.
Ruvo, rich collection of Greek monuments found there, 134.

Sagas, the historical traditions of Iceland, 339.
St. David's, Bishop of, paper "On alleged Connection between early History of Greece and Assyria," 170–215.
Saka, the generic name of the Scythians, 94.
Samian, or Aretine red ware, properly called Roman, 151.
Sand, extraordinary clouds of, at Warkah, 5.
Sandow, Joachim, proposes to the people to recall four Lutheran preachers who had been exiled, 508.
Satyr holding a panther by the neck, Pompeian statuette of, 163.
Saxon, meant, to a Frank, everything north of Paderborn which was not Slavonic or Danish, 439.
Scandinavia called an island by Pliny, 422.
Scandinavians of the North differed in many respects from the Scandinavians of the South, 352.
Scritobini, the sun seen at midnight in their country, 423.
Seleucus, name of, written in cuneiform, discovered on tablets at Warkah, 39.
Sennacherib, his campaign in Western Asia, as described by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, 209.
Shah-nameh, division of provinces mentioned in, 173.
Shat-el-nil, a considerable stream near Warkah, 59.
————–, flows eastward from Warkah towards Sinkara, 59.
————–, probably a continuation of the Nil of Babylon, 61.
————–, possible origin of its name, 61.
Shells of the *Tridacna squamosa*, found, with Babylonian remains, at Warkah, 43.
Skalds, or Poets, of Iceland, a list of the most celebrated, 357.
Skalds and Sagamenn, become extinct in Iceland on the spread of Romanism, 358.
Snorro Edda, popularly ascribed to Snorro Sturlason, 360.
Smith, Lieutenant, R. E., makes careful photographs of the pavements discovered by C. T. Newton, Esq., 460.
————————————, very able report by, of the results obtained from Mr. Newton's excavations, 474–480.
Sprengtporten, Lieut.-General, his letter to Gustavus III. on his extravagance, 241.
Statues, archaic, found along the Sacred Way leading up to Temple of Apollo Didymæus, near Miletus, 484.
Steuart, Mr. J. R., description of the statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus, 192.
Stiernkook, ascribes the invention of Juries to Regner, King of Norway, in A.D. 830, 335.
Stoddart, Mr., account of Diotæ, or wine-jars, found at Kertch and elsewhere, 124.
Stymphalus, the same physical phenomena at, as at Lake Copais, 391.
————————, flood of, in the time of Pausanias, attributed to the wrath of the Stymphalian Artemis, 391.
Susiana, name of, read on lists from Esneh, 78.
Sweden, distracted state in 1720, 229.
————————————— during the youth of Gustavus III., 231.
Swenks-sund, battle of, July 9, 1790, and total defeat of the Russians, 259.

Tantalus, the lake of, noticed by Pausanias, 193.

Temple, the Hon. Sir W., Collection of, preserved in Palazzo Policastro, Naples, 130.
———————, earliest remains in his Collection, from Nola, in Campania, 131.
———————, earliest vases in collection of, called Phœnician, 132.
Terra-cottas, many of the small, probably reduced copies of once-admired statues, 149.
Thales, Anaximander, and Hegesander, names on the oldest Greek inscription from Branchidæ, 489.
Thompson, Lieut., Sketch of Kertch and its larger tumuli, etc., 100–129.
Thucydides assumes the migration of Pelops from Asia, 195.
Thule, Dicuil's account of it, 331.
Tombs in Lycia, at Mylasa, and at Souma in Algeria, exhibit a striking analogy with the construction of the Mausoleum, 480.
Trussell, Daniel, statement of, relative to the sheep, etc., sent from England to Spain, 536.

Ulrica, Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., purchases the crown of Sweden, 229.

Vases, contemporary with the Æginetan School of Sculpture, 143.
Vaux, W. S. W., "On recent researches at Budrum, Branchidæ, and Cnidus, by C. T. Newton, British Consul at Mytilene," 448.
Venus, figurines representing, made of pale-yellow clay, and found at Warkah, 58.
Vinili, or Langobards, came originally from Germany, 422.
Virgil describes a great abyss as the common head of all the rivers of the world, 406.
Vissenberg, legend relating to, recorded by Andersen, 397.
Vitmeius, name of, on inscription at Verona, 165.
Volney, M., suggests that the list in Ctesias is that of Herodotus repeated twice over, 182.
Voluspâ, poem of, translation of a portion by Mr. Hogg, 363.
Vulturnum, ancient town of, now called Santa Maria di Capua, 132.

Warkah, monuments discovered at, range between 2200 B.C. and 400 A.D.
———, no certain records found there to determine its ancient name, 2.
———, at first thought to be "Ur of the Chaldees," 2.
———, alone comparable with Nineveh or Babylon for extent of ruins, 2.
———, seen, but not visited, by the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, and by Mr. Ross and Mr. Frazer, 3.
———, first visited in 1850 by Mr. Loftus, Mr. H. A. Churchill, and Mr. Ross, 3.
——— visited, later in 1850, by Sir W. F. Williams, K.C.B., 4.
———————, a third time, by Mr. Loftus, Mr. Boutcher, and Mr. T. Lynch, in 1854, 4.
———, ruins of, surrounded by a wall five miles and a half in circumference, 6, 27.
———, large temple at, 22.
———, cones found at, similar to but smaller than those found in the Egyptian tombs, 24.
———, cone-brick edifice, certainly of Babylonian origin, 24.

Warkah, south-west building at, 25.
———, piece of sculpture in basalt found by Mr. T. Lynch at, 26.
———, conical mounds at, of uncertain date, 29.
———, Southern or Parthian? mound at, 32.
———, remains of buildings on south platform, at, 33.
———, Greek or Parthian mound at, 34.
———, cornices in Greek mound at, and Ionic capitals, 35.
———, clay tablets with names of Greek rulers in cuneiform characters, 37.
———, necropolis at, 39.
———, no site in ancient Babylon affords information of such varied character, 63.
Warnefrid, Paul (or Paulus Diaconus), his value for the history of the Pagan Langobards, 419.
————————, known to the general reader through Gibbon, 421.
————————, how he tells the story of the Lombards, 422–426.
———— states that the Lombards were originally called Vinili, 444.
Water-worship, endless variety of the forms of, 402.
Way, sacred, leading up to the Temple of Apollo Didymæus, near Miletus, 484.
Welcker thinks the Stymphalian Artemis was worshiped as Artemis Limnæa, 392.
Westmacott, R. W., assists in the reuniting the fragments of sculpture, 480.
Wood, Rev. J. S., his notes upon Mr. Jackson's inscriptions, 316.
Wool, duty imposed on the exportation of British, by Edward I., 529.
Wullenweber, Jürgen, one of the most eminent men of the sixteenth century, 503.
———— takes the lead of the Democratic party at Lübeck, 505.
———— proposes, in 1533, to confirm the power of the "*Hansa*," 505.
———— demands that the Catholic clergy should be deposed, 511.
———— demands the immediate dissolution of the Council of Sixty-four at Lübeck, 512.
———— orders the Burgermeisters of Pakebusch and Zerken to be put under arrest, 513.
———— urges an obsolete statute that after two years each senator should retire, 515.
———— confiscates the rich ornaments of the Catholic church, 516.
———— sends an embassy to Copenhagen to urge the exclusion of the Dutch from the Sound, 516.
———— pays an unsuccessful visit to Copenhagen, 517.
———— agrees to a conference to be holden at Hamburg in 1534, 520.
———— demands at the Hamburg Conference that no Dutch ships shall pass the Sound, 520.
———— persuades the people of Lübeck to send ships to aid Count Christopher of Oldenburg, 523.
———— appeals for assistance to Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, 524.
———— is beheaded at Wolfenbüttel, 526,
Wuswas, the name of a mound at Warkah, 12.
———, character of this structure at Warkah, 12.
———, brick columns at, arranged in rows like palm logs, 15.
———, the whole of the front of the building originally covered with plaster, 16.